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"PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY"

—Chairman Kim Il Sung's Report at Conference of Korean Workers' Party—

PYONGYANG, Oct. 5 (KCNA)—Follows the full text of a report on the "Present situation and the task confronting our Party" delivered by Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, at the Conference of the Korean Workers' Party which opened on Oct. 5 in Pyongyang:

Comrades,

The Korean revolution is a link in the whole chain of the world revolution and the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is closely linked up with the struggle of the people of the whole world for peace and democracy, for national independence and socialism.

The international conditions of our revolution are very much complicated today. The imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism are endeavouring more and more desperately to suppress the growing revolutionary movement of the people and are aggravating the international situation to the extreme. Many complicated questions have arisen within the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and the communist and workers' parties have not as yet achieved unity. This state of affairs can not but throw definite obstacles to the development of the world revolutionary movement and affect revolution and construction in our country.

We must correctly analyze and have a clear understanding of the present situation as well as the conditions within the international communist movement and make a right appraisal thereof. We must map out our Party line for internal and external activities to suit the obtaining situation, and carry it through to the end. Also we must fully prepare the entire Party membership and the working men and women ideologically to rally firmly around the Party and fight on to victory for the revolution resolutely.

We should, at this Conference, deal with all these questions to the fullest extent so as to accelerate revolution and construction in our country successfully and contribute to an advancement of the international communist movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

I. On International Situation and Certain Problems Arising in International Communist Movement

Comrades,

A bitter struggle is going on in the international arena today between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution. The socialist forces, the national liberation movement, the working class movement and democratic movement are growing steadily on a world-wide scale.

The flames of liberation struggle are specially fierce in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism is meeting with a powerful resistance of the peoples and being dealt most severe blows in these parts of the world. The peoples who have risen in the struggle are smashing the old world of imperialism and colonialism and are winning new victories in their revolutionary cause of creating new world.

The growth of the revolutionary forces of the world headed by socialism and the collapse of the colonial system have markedly weakened the forces of imperialism. The internal contradictions of imperialism have become intensified and complications among the imperialist powers have been sharpened. The imperialists are suffering powerful blows from within and without and being driven into a predicament.

The revolutionary movement may undergo vicissitudes in the course of its advancement, but the general situation develops in favor of the forces of socialism and revolution and to the disadvantage of the forces of imperialism and reaction. Victory of socialism and downfall of imperialism are the main trend of our times that no force can ever check.

But imperialism does not recede from the arena of history of its own will. Its aggressive nature cannot change and it still remains a dangerous force; the imperialists desperately try to save themselves from doom by means of aggression and war.

The aggressive manoeuvrings of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism have become more undisguised in recent years. The U.S. imperialists are perpetrating acts of aggression against the socialist countries and the national independent states, barbarously suppressing the national liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and disturbing peace throughout the world.

Today, the U.S. imperialists direct the spearhead of aggression to Asia. They have brought more and more armed forces into South Vietnam in wanton violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, carried out the scorched earth tactics of "burn all, kill all and destroy all" and have expanded their bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the areas of Hanoi and Haiphong. This shows that the U.S. imperialist policy of "escalation of war" in Vietnam has entered a new, serious phase. The U.S. imperialists are running amuck to spread the conflagrations of war to the vast area of Asia.

The U.S. aggressors make frenzied preparations for war, occupying the southern part of our country by force of arms; they also carry on provocative acts against people's China, occupying Taiwan, territory of the People's Republic of China.

The U.S. imperialists have revived Japanese militarism to make use of it as their "shock brigade" of aggression in Asia. They have aligned the forces of Japanese militarism with the South Korean puppets and are scheming to rig up a "Northeast Asia Military Alliance" with them as its core.

The basic strategy of the U.S. imperialists in their aggression in Asia is designed to blockade and attack the Asian socialist countries, concentrating increasing numbers of American armed forces in this region and mobilizing the forces of Japanese militarism and their subordinate nations and puppets and to prop up their colonial rule by containing the rapidly growing forces of revolution in Asia. This machination on the part of the U.S. aggressors aggravates the situation in all parts of Asia to the extreme and gravely endangers universal peace.

The intensified aggressive manoeuvrings by the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism do not prove their mightiness; it proves, on the contrary, that they have been placed in a more awkward situation.

The desperation of U.S. imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America only testifies that the forces of socialism are growing, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle is being waged intensively and the imperialist foothold is shaking to its very foundations in these parts of the world.

No amount of manoeuvre on the part of the imperialists can check the mounting liberation struggle of the peoples or block the triumphant march onward of socialism. The imperialists will definitely be kicked out of Asia, Africa and Latin America and be defeated by the revolutionary struggle of the people in the end.

Ultimate triumph of socialism and complete downfall of imperialism are inevitable. This is an immutable law of historical development.

All the events taking place in the international arena substantiate more and more that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the international gendarme, the bulwark of modern colonialism and the most heinous enemy of the people of the whole world.

U.S. imperialism is the enemy number one of the world's people in their struggle. It is the primary task facing the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties to enlist and concentrate the broad anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Only by fighting it resolutely, can world peace be safeguarded and the revolutionary struggle of the people attain victory.

The position of each communist and workers' party at the present period is scaled in a large measure by its approach to U.S. imperialism. Communists should always hold fast to the principled stand of opposing imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all. Particularly at a time when the U.S. imperialists are expanding aggression in Vietnam, all the socialist countries should take more stiff and tough attitude towards them. We should not tolerate any act of compromising with U.S. imperialism, renouncing principle in international affairs.

The socialist countries, even if they maintain diplomatic relations with the imperialists, should not dissolve their anti-imperialist struggle therein or weaken it for that reason. In diplomacy, too, the socialist countries should adhere to class principle, exert pressure upon U.S. imperialism and expose and condemn its policies of aggression and war.

It is also wrong only to shout against U.S. imperialism, instead of taking specific actions to stop its aggression. Particularly, one should not cause difficulties to the anti-imperialist forces in uniting to take practical measures for dealing blows at the aggressors of U.S. imperialism. Such attitude will not prevent the U.S. imperialists from committing aggression. On the contrary, it will make them more arrogant and outrageous, and, in the final analysis, encourage their acts of aggression.

It is a principle of foreign policy for the socialist countries to struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace and security. Fighting to prevent war, we communists should never fear it, but should thoroughly annihilate the aggressors when they strike us by forces of arms. Only by holding fast to the principled stand of opposing imperialism and waging a vigorous anti-imperialist struggle, is it possible to check imperialist aggression and defend peace.

The socialist countries should be especially vigilant over the fact that the U.S. imperialists, while refraining, in so far as possible, from worsening their relations with big countries, concentrate their aggression mainly on Vietnam and try to swallow up such divided or small countries as Korea, Cuba and East Germany one by one. Attention should be directed at the same time to any possible manoeuvre of the U.S. imperialists to ease the European situation or keep it in a stalemate temporarily in order to concentrate their efforts on aggression in Asia.

In such case, the easing of tension on one front would by no means contribute to improving the general international climate, but, on the contrary, provide conditions for the imperialists to intensify aggression on another front. It, therefore, constitutes a greater threat to world peace and security.

In the present situation, the U.S. imperialists should be dealt blows and their forces be dispersed to the maximum in Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America, in all countries, big and small—in all parts and on every front in the world—and they should be bound hand and foot everywhere they are so that they may not run wild.

Only in this way, can we succeed in crushing the strategy of the U.S. imperialists to shatter the socialist countries and the international revolutionary forces one by one by concentrating their forces on this or that area or country.

Our Party and people will carry on the persistent struggle against the U.S.-led imperialist forces of aggression and strive to unite with all the forces opposing U.S. imperialism.

To defend world peace, it is necessary to fight the U.S. allies, while struggling against U.S. imperialism. Struggle should

(Continued on page 2)

Conference of Korean Workers' Party Opens

The Conference of the Korean Workers' Party opened in Pyongyang on Oct. 5, according to information from Pyongyang.

It was attended by delegates elected at the plenary meetings of the provincial (municipal) party committees and the party committee of the Korean People's Army. Attending as observers were functionaries of the Party and Government organs, working people's organizations and economic, scientific and cultural organs.

Taking the platform together with Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, were Vice-chairmen Choi Yong Kun, Kim Il, Pak Keum Chul, Li Hyo Soon, Kim Kwang Hyup and other members and candidate members of the Political Committee of the Party and Vice-premiers of the Cabinet.

Ro Byung Woo, leader of the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan, was also in the platform party.

Vice-chairman Choi Yong Kun delivered an opening speech.

Then, the executive, secretariat, editing committee and credentials' committee of the Conference were elected.

The platform of the Conference of the Korean Workers' Party which opened in Pyongyang on Oct. 5

The Conference approved the following agenda:

One. Present situation and the task confronting our Party;

Two. On the immediate tasks of socialist economic construction;

Three. Adoption of the statement of the Conference of the Korean Workers' Party on the Vietnam question.

Chairman Kim Il Sung delivered a report on the "present situation and the task confronting our Party." **(The text of the report on page 1)**

The report was frequently interrupted by warm and prolonged applause manifesting the unanimous approval and support of all the attendants.

At the third-day session of the Korean Workers' Party Conference on Oct. 8, Li Nam Hyuk, delegate of a South Korean revolutionary organization, delivered a congratulatory speech.

Kim Yung Hi, another delegate from the South Korean revolutionary organization, also made a speech at the fourth-day sitting of the Conference on Sept. 9.

Ro Byung Woo, leader of the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan, also mounted the rostrum to deliver a congratulatory speech at the fourth-day meeting of the Conference on Oct. 9.

At the fifth-day session of the Conference on Oct. 10, First Vice-premier Kim Il made a report on the "Immediate tasks of socialist economic construction," the second item of the agenda.

The report consists of five parts including "On carrying on the Seven-Year Plan while building economy and defences in parallel."

The Conference closed on Oct. 12.

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

be intensified particularly against Japanese militarism and West German militarism.

Japanese and West German militarism have been revived rapidly under the active patronage of U.S. imperialism. Japan and West Germany are regenerating into hotbeds of war in Asia and Europe. Under these circumstances, we can never neglect the struggle against Japanese and West German militarism.

The socialist countries are fighting against the militarism of West Germany and that is a good thing. Our Party and people are opposed to the revival of West German militarism and its revanchist ambition, and strongly denounce the U.S. imperialists for their criminal manoeuvres in actively instigating it. We support the struggle of the German people and the stand of the Democratic Republic of Germany against the rearmament of the West German militarists.

We must be aware of the danger of Japanese militarism in Asia along with that of West German militarism in Europe. As all the socialist countries struggle against West German militarism as well as U.S. imperialism in Europe, so they should fight against Japanese militarism as well as U.S. imperialism in Asia.

Japanese militarism has made its appearance in Asia as a dangerous force of aggression today. The Japanese military forces harbor an illusion of realizing that old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" with U.S. backing. Japan's Sato Government, with the active support of U.S. imperialism, has not only mapped out operations to invade Korea and other Asian nations but already started stretching its tentacles of aggression to South Korea.

A tripartite military a liance has virtually been formed among U.S. imperialism, the Sato Government of Japan and the South Korean puppet clique through bilateral military agreements. The Sato Government is actively joining U.S. imperialism in its aggression in Vietnam and sending various weapons and large quantities of combat material to South Vietnam on U.S. orders. Japan serves the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam as a supply and repair base and as a base of operations.

Under U.S. instigation, the Sato Government pursues a hostile policy towards our country and other socialist countries in Asia. It also intensifies its economic and cultural infiltration into a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries under the ostentatious name of "aid," "joint development" and "economic and technical co-operation."

The struggle against Japanese militarism is the struggle to defend peace in Asia and the world and is an important link in the chain of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. All the socialist countries should attach importance to the struggle against Japanese militarism and frustrate its aggressive ambition by concerted actions. Especially, they should thoroughly lay bare and smite the manoeuvrings of the Sato Government to disorganize the anti-imperialist front under the guise of a "friend" of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples.

It is true that there are certain contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the Japanese ruling circles, of which socialist countries may take advantage in the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle in the case of their deepening in the future. But we must observe the whole aspects of the U.S.-Japanese relations. Despite their discords, U.S. imperialism and Japanese imperialism are bound together by an alliance between the boss and the subordinate for the sake of their common interests in Asian aggression and are aligned with each other politically, economically and militarily. The contradictions between the U.S. and Japan should not be overestimated and the boss-servant alliance between the two should not be underestimated.

We should harbor no illusion whatsoever as to the Japanese ruling circles and should not pin any hope on them. If we do not grasp the danger of Japanese militarism but become intimate with the Sato Government, it is, in fact, tantamount to encouraging the foreign expansion of the Japanese ruling circles and to consolidating the position of U.S. imperialism in Asia.

The socialist countries may develop economic relations with Japan but should make no bargaining with its ruling circles on political questions. The relationship with the Sato Government should, in all circumstances, be formed in the interests of the Japanese people and in the general interests of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Today the Japanese people are fighting against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and for defence of the security of Japan and world peace. Their struggle gives big blows at the Asian aggression of U.S. imperialism and at Japanese militarism and contributes to the cause of world peace.

The Korean people resolutely condemn the aggressive manoeuvrings of Japanese militarism. Its rearmament and aggression against South Korea should be stopped by all means and the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" concluded under U.S. manipulation be abrogated. Japan should free itself from U.S. imperialist domination and develop along the path of independence and democracy. The Korean people fully support and express militant solidarity with the Japanese people headed by the Communist Party of Japan in their struggle for the complete independence and democratic progress of Japan.

U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the struggle of the Vietnamese people against it are the focal point of the struggle between the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution at this moment. U.S. aggression in Vietnam is not only directed against the people of Vietnam but also against the socialist camp, a challenge to the national liberation movement and a menace to peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people have risen as one in the sacred battle determinedly to smash U.S. imperialist aggression, liberate the South and defend the North and to reunify the nation. They continue to bring serious political and military defeats to the aggressors, thereby driving U.S. imperialism into adversity. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has already liberated four-fifths of South Vietnamese territory and two-thirds of the total population, while the North Vietnamese people are successfully repulsing the barbarous bombing by the air pirates of U.S. imperialism. The heroic struggle of the people of North and South against the U.S. and for national salvation has set an example for the whole world's people fighting against imperialism for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and inspires them boundlessly.

On behalf of this Conference, I would like to extend warmest militant greetings and congratulations to the fraternal people of North and South Vietnam who are attaining shining victories and accomplishing heroic feats in their righteous war of resistance against the aggressors of U.S. imperialism.

The Vietnamese people are not only valiantly struggling for the complete liberation and independence of their country but also are shedding blood in the battle to defend the socialist camp and safeguard peace in Asia and the world. What attitude one takes towards U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and towards the Vietnamese people's struggle against it is a criterion that shows whether one is resolutely opposed to imperialism or not and whether one actively supports the liberation struggle of the peoples or not. The attitude towards the Vietnam question is a touchstone that distinguishes between the revolutionary stand and the opportunist stand, between proletarian internationalism and national egoism.

All the socialist countries and peace-loving people should oppose the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and render every possible support to the people of Vietnam in their righteous war of liberation. As the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is being attacked by the U.S. imperialists, the socialist countries should fight more sharply against them and make every effort to support the people of Vietnam. There can be no vacillation or passivity whatever on this point.

All the socialist countries should pool their strength and come to the aid of the fighting Vietnamese people and should foil the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam by joint efforts. At present, however, the countries of the socialist camp are not keeping step with each other in opposing U.S. aggression and aiding the Vietnamese brothers because of the differences of opinion among themselves. This afflicts the fighting people of Vietnam and really saddens us communists.

The fraternal parties are not allowed to engage only in polemics over the Vietnam question at a moment when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression. It is the Workers' Party of Vietnam that should and can settle the Vietnam question. No one has the last say except the Workers' Party of Vietnam on that question. The fraternal parties should at all times follow the line of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and support its stand as far as the Vietnam question is concerned. As regards the aid given by the fraternal countries to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, too, it is none other than the Workers' Party of Vietnam that can draw correct conclusions on it and the fraternal parties should pay heed to them.

The situation today is different from the days gone by when the Soviet Union was making revolution all alone. There was no other socialist country in the world at that time, and the Soviet Union was forced to solve all problems singly, that of arms included. But today there exists the powerful socialist camp, and there is no reason why the Vietnamese people should not receive aid from the fraternal socialist countries in the harsh warfare against the common enemy. The socialist countries are duty bound to offer aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are entitled to receive it. If such aid is used effectively for the battle against the U.S. aggressors, then it is a good thing, indeed, and can by no means be a bad thing. In order to defeat the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, all the brotherly countries should give more aid to the

(Continued on page 3)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 2)

Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Such, we consider, is the revolutionary stand of opposing the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and such is the internationalist stand of helping the Vietnamese people in good earnest.

Now is not the time for the socialist countries to sit idly by, only extending political support to the people of Vietnam. They should take more positive actions to aid the Vietnamese people. In the light of the situation where the U.S. imperialists are expanding aggression to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by bringing in troops of their subordinate countries and puppets, every socialist country should dispatch volunteers to Vietnam to defend the south-eastern outpost of the socialist camp and preserve peace in Asia and the world. This is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries to the brotherly Vietnamese people. No one can oppose the socialist countries dispatching volunteers to Vietnam.

If all the socialist countries assist the Vietnamese people in shattering U.S. aggression, U.S. imperialism will be doomed like the sun setting in the west and the revolutionary movements in all countries in Asia and the rest of the world will upsurge greatly.

The Korean Workers' Party and the Korean people regard U.S. aggression against Vietnam as one against themselves and regard the struggle of the Vietnamese people as their own. Our people will be more resolute in their struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and will exert every possible effort to support the people of Vietnam. We are preparing to send our volunteers to join the Vietnamese brothers and sisters in their battle whenever requested by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The sole and just solution to the Vietnam question is to implement the four-point demand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement mady by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The Korean Workers' Party and the Government of our Republic render full support to this just position of the Vietnamese people.

The U.S. imperialists are now making the "peace talks" hoax in an attempt to cover up another plot of war escalation. No amount of deceptive artifice, however, can help them to cloak its foul aggressive nature. We strongly denounce the plot of the U.S. imperialists to expand the war of aggression against Vietnam and condemn their "peace talks" hoax.

The U.S. imperialists must immediately desist from all acts of aggression against the people of Vietnam and must get out of South Vietnam without delay taking their armed forces of aggression and the subordinate and puppet troops and all the lethal weapons with them. Should they continue to act recklessly in disregard of the repeated warnings of the Vietnamese people and the socialist countries and the strong condemnation of the people of the world, the U.S. imperialists will only suffer still more miserable defeats. Ultimate triumph is on the side of the Vietnamese people who have risen in the righteous cause and the aggressors of U.S. imperialism will definitely be ruined.

Another question of international significance today is to defend the Cuban revolution. The victory of the Cuban revolution is the first victory of socialist revolution won under the very nose of the United States. It is a continuation of the Great October Revolution in Latin America. It is a historic event that expanded the socialist camp to the Western Hemisphere and brought about a turning point in the revolutionary movement in Latin America. The Republic of Cuba has become a base of revolution in Latin America.

Today, the Cuban people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, firmly march ahead in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle, holding aloft the banner of revolution. They are safeguarding their revolutionary gains and building socialism in difficult conditions, valiantly repulsing the uninterrupted acts of aggression and provocation prepetrated by the U.S. imperialists.

It is a sacred internationalist duty for the countries of the socialist camp and the Latin American peoples to defend the Cuban revolution. The socialist countries should unstintedly support the brotherly Cuban people in their revolutionary cause, safeguard the revolution in Cuba and render positive assistance to the socialist construction in Cuba. We communists who consider the interests of revolution the supreme law cannot act otherwise with regard to Cuba.

It is quite natural that Cuba should receive aid from the socialist countries, and the fraternal parties and countries should welcome it. This is demanded by the Cuban revolution and the interests of revolution of Latin America. We should fully understand the situation of Cuba and the position of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The Communist Party of Cuba knows the Cuban question better than anyone else, and it is the Communist Party of Cuba and no one else that can map out correct policies to suit the actual conditions in Cuba. Every socialist country is only duty bound to respect the policies pursued by the Communist Party of Cuba and support the struggle of the Cuban people. No attempt should be made to exert pressure upon the Communist Party and people of Cuba and split the revolutionary forces in Latin America.

The Korean Workers' Party has fully supported and is supporting the just stand of the Communist Party of Cuba which correctly leads revolution and construction in its country and strives for the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, under the the banner of revolution. Our Party and people categorically condemn the aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists against Cuba and firmly support the heroic struggle of the Cuban people to uphold their revolutionary gains and build socialism. We will, as always, continue to do all we can to cement our friendship and solidarity with the Communist Party and people of Cuba.

Tremendous revolutionary changes are taking place in the life of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples today. Their national liberation movement, along with the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism, is a great revolutionary force of our times and a powerful factor of universal peace.

It is amidst the unprecedented upsurge of the national liberation movement that so many countries have attained national independence and embarked upon the building of new life. The peoples of those countries which are still under colonial oppression are fighting more and more vigorously for freedom and liberation.

But the imperialists are not willing to get out of colonies. Moreover, they resort to all sorts of artifice to grab and subordinate even an inch more of land. They suppress the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and carry out subversive activities to tear new-born independencies away from the anti-imperialist front one by one. While resorting to outright force, they attempt to worm into the new-born independent nations with "aid" as a bait with a view to meddling in the internal affairs of those nations and subverting them.

In recent years, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their subversive activities and sabotage against the new independencies; they endeavour to bribe and rake up the local reactionaries, thereby inciting them to oppose the progressive forces and turn certain new-born independent countries to the right. They work in this way to have those countries suppress the revolutionary forces internally, and then externally, oppose the socialist countries and disorganize the anti-imperialist forces.

India can be cited as an example. The reactionary forces in India try to turn the country more and more to the right under imperialist instigation. As the might of the socialist countries grows and the revolutionary movement develops in Asia, they fear it might exert influence upon the hungry and ragged masses of their people. That is why the Indian reactionary forces suppress the progressive forces at home, while aggravating relations with neighbouring nations. By so doing, they work craftily to cover up the deepening social and class contradiction at home and divert the attention of the people, and to prevent the revolutionary influence from coming in from without. We should guard ourselves against the reactionary forces of India suppressing the progressive forces at home and carrying hostile acts against the socialist countries.

Also, we cannot but direct our concern to the recent Indonesian situation. There in Indonesia, the Communist Party and progressive social organizations have been outlawed by the rightist reactionary forces, large numbers of communists and progressive personalities have been arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered and the anti-communist campaign is still going on. This is done at the instigation of U.S. imperialism as part of its plan for Asian aggression.

We strongly protest to the rightist reactionary forces against their massacre and suppression of the Indonesian Communist Party and democratic forces. We express firm solidarity with the communists and the progressive forces of Indonesia in their struggle against the machinations of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionary forces to divert Indonesia to the right and for national independence and the democratic development of the country.

Developments in Indonesia offer a serious lesson to all communists. It shows that the more the communist parties and revolutionary forces grow, the more desperately foreign imperialism and local reactionary forces manoeuvre to stifle them. Communists should maintain sharpest vigilance over this and always be prepared to counter possible suppression of the enemy organizationally and ideologically, strategically and tactically. Revolution is complicated and requires a scientific art of leadership. It can be won only when the line of struggle is set forth scientifically and scrupulously and the most appropriate time is chosen to unfold a decisive fight on the basis of a correct judgement on the revolutionary situation and a coherent calculation of the balance of forces between the two opposing sides. We should deeply bear in mind such experience and lesson on the international revolutionary movement and apply them in the best way to our own revolutionary struggle.

Much has still to be done to eradicate imperialist colonial system in Asia, Africa and Latin America and achieve the complete liberation and independence of nations. The road of national liberation is the one of arduous struggle, in whose course one encounters desperate resistance on the part of the imperialists and reactionaries and undergoes many hardships and trials.

Attainment of political independence is merely an initial step towards ultimate triumph for the national liberation revolution. Those peoples who have won independence are confronted with the task of opposing the subversive activities of the foreign imperialists and local forces of reaction and carrying through the cause of national liberation to the end. For this purpose, the machine of imperialist colonial rule should be crushed, imperialism and the local reactionaries be deprived of their economic footholds, the revolutionary forces should be strengthened and progressive socio-political system be established, and independent national economies and national culture should be built. Only in this way, can the peoples of new-born independencies liquidate the centuries-old backwardness and penury handed down by colonial rule and construct rich and strong, independent and sovereign states.

The Korean Workers' Party and the Government of our Republic positively support the peoples of all new-born independencies in their struggle to consolidate national independence and bring about national prosperity. We shall continue to endeavour for a promotion of our relations of friendship and co-operation with new independencies. Our Party and Government consider it an important principle of foreign policy to render support to the struggle of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples against imperialism and for freedom and liberation. The Korean people trenchantly condemn the aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists against the Laotian people and fully support the struggle of the Laotian people for national independence. Our people support the righteous struggle of the Cambodian people against the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, for independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. We support and express militant solidarity with the liberation struggles carried out by the Congolese (K) and Venezuelan peoples and the rest of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples.

We also support and extend firm solidarity with the working class and the toiling people of the capitalist countries in their revolutionary struggles against the exploitation and oppression of capital and for democratic rights and socialism. Our Party and people will always stand firmly on the side of the peoples battling for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and will strive to reinforce solidarity with them.

Comrades, the socialist camp and the international communist movement have been undergoing harsh trials in recent years. Modern revisionism and dogmatism have laid grave obstacles to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

We can achieve the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement and fight on successfully against imperialism by overcoming the right and "left" opportunism and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism has developed and attained victory in the struggle against right and "left" opportunism. Experience of history shows that various deviations from Marxism-Leninism find expression on the path of revolution. That is nothing surprising. As long as imperialism remains and class struggle goes on, they find expression in the working class movement in the form of right and "left" opportunism, and struggles are waged against them. It is somewhat inevitable.

Right and "left" opportunism are the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas which made their appearance in the working class movement. They distort the revolutionary quintessence of Marxism-Leninism and do harm to revolution from both extremes. We, therefore, must fight on both fronts against right and "left" opportunism.

Modern revisionism revises Marxism-Leninism and emasculates its revolutionary quintessence under the pretext of the so-called "changing situation" and "creative development." It rejects the class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, preaches class collaboration and gives up fighting imperialism. Besides, modern revisionism spreads illusion about imperialism and obstructs the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for social and national liberation in every way.

It is true that modern revisionism has already been dealt a severe blow by the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and is on the decline. This, however, does not mean that it has been liquidated once and for all. Modern revisionism still remains a big menace to the international communist movement. It finds expression above all in its weakness against imperialism and its passive approach towards the revolutionary struggle of the people. We, therefore, should not slacken the struggle against modern revisionism.

We must fight "left" opportunism as well as modern revisionism. "Left" opportunism takes no heed of the changed realities and recites individual propositions of Marxism-Leninism in a dogmatic manner, and leads people to the extremist action under super-revolutionary slogans. Furthermore, it divorces the party from the masses, splits the revolutionary forces and thereby prevents any concentrated attack on the main enemy.

When "left" opportunism is aggravated, it, too, may become as big a threat as modern revisionism both to national parties and to the international communist movement. Without fighting "left" opportunism, it is impossible to unite the anti-imperialist forces for a successful struggle against imperialism, or to battle against modern revisionism efficiently.

(Continued on page 4)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 3)

Thus both modern revisionism and "left" opportunism cause tremendous obstacles to the advancement of the international revolutionary movement. It is wrong not to see the danger of "left" opportunism for opposing modern revisionism, and it is likewise wrong not to see the danger of modern revisionism for fighting "left" opportunism. Unless right and "left" opportunism are overcome, it is impossible to lead revolution and construction correctly in each country, or to step up the international revolutionary movement powerfully.

The struggle against right and "left" opportunism is inseparably related with the struggle for the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. Our Party will uphold the banner of unity, while fighting on against right and "left" opportunism. We should not commit the "leftist" error of rejecting cohesion for fighting opportunism, nor should we commit the rightist error of giving up the struggle against opportunism for defending unity. Our Patry will do all it can to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, while carrying on the uncompromising struggle against right and left" "opportunism.

The socialist camp and the international communist movement are the decisive factor that governs the development of the history of mankind at present period. They are the greatest revolutionary forces of our times that stand faceto face with imperialism and all the forces of reaction. The existence of united and powerful socialist camp and international communist movement checks the imperialist policies of aggression and war and inspires the revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world.

The imperialists are fearful of the socialist, camp and the international communist movement more than anything else. It is for this reason that they have incessantly perpetrated and are perpetrating armed invasion and subversive acts against the socialist countries. The imperialists now attempt to swallow them up one by one.

Under these circumstances, what is most important is to defend the socialist camp jointly from imperialist aggression and, for this purpose, the socialist camp must stand firmly united as one. And yet, it dose not advance at the present moment as a monolithic rank, as a united force due to its internal differences which exert negative influence upon the development of the world revolutionary movement and the international situation.

It is a sacred duty for every communist to fight to defend the socialist camp and uphold its unity. We communists must not tolerate any act of weakening the unity of the socialist camp. Renegades of the revolution must not be brought into the socialist camp, nor must this or that country be excluded from it artificially. All this is an act of disorganizing the socialist camp. We can not allow anyone to destroy the socialist camp which was won by the working class of the whole world with their blood. This is a matter of principle that concerns the destiny of the socialist camp and the future of the international revolutionary movement.

We cannot replace the socialist camp with any community of a different character.

To introduce the Titoites of Yugoslavia into the ranks of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is to weaken the unity of the former and cohesion of the latter. The Tito clique of Yugoslavia betrayed Marxism-Leninism and broke away from the socialist camp and the international communist movement; they are opposed to the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and engaged in activities of disrupting the international revolutionary movement. They have long lost the qualification to be admitted into the socialist camp and the international communist movement for such acts of their own.

We have no objection, of course, to the socialist countries developing state relations with Yugoslavia. However, we cannot recognize Yugoslavia as a member of the socialist camp and regard the "League of Communists of Yugoslavia" in the same light with the communist and workers' parties. The wrong approach to Yugoslavia constitutes an obstacle, together with other problems, to restoring the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement today.

On the other hand, we must oppose the attempt to deny the existence of the socialist camp and split it together with the international communist movement. If the socialist camp, the international communist movement and each party are split into two, it can not be normal, and still less useful. We must seek unity through struggle.

It is really regrettable for the communists of the whole world that the differences among the fraternal parties have become so serious that they have passed the ideological and theoretical limits and can hardly be settled now. But, however serious they may be, the differences among the fraternal parties are still an internal affair of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Differences among the parties must not be developed into an organizational split, but must, under all circumstances, be settled by means of ideological struggle proceeding from the desire for unity.

No socialist country must be excluded from the socialist camp and the international communist movement. No one should make exaggerated or distorted appraisal of any fraternal country or fraternal party, or consider any of the 13 socialist countries as being outside the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It is our opinion that utmost prudence should be taken in appraising the leadership of any fraternal country or fraternal party.

Relationship between the fraternal parties should in no way be considered a hostile one as that with imperialism. When the leadership of any fraternal party commits an error, communists should make comradely criticism and help it to return to the right path.

Meanwhile, one cannot draw a hasty conclusion on the character of society in fraternal countries on the basis of individual phenomena observed in some aspects of their social life. The character of a given society is determined by which class holds the power and by the form of ownership of the means of production.

We must clearly see the difference between the socialist and capitalist countries. There exists the fundamental contradiction between the socialist and capitalist countries which emanates from their essentially different social systems. This contradiction exists objectively whether one likes or not. Various measures taken by the leaders may intensify or alleviate contradictions between the socialist and capitalist countries, but as long as the social systems stand opposed to each other, the fundamental contradiction between the socialist and capitalist countries can by no means be eliminated.

One should not place any fraternal country in the same category as the enemy or push it over to the side of the imperialists even if it has certain negative aspects. We communists should never be prejudiced or fall into subjectivism in our approach towards the fraternal parties and fraternal countries.

Our Party considers that even if there are differences, one should refrain from making a hasty conclusion on any fraternal parties and any fraternal countries and should try them out through struggle by giving time. In the meantime, it would be possible to promote unity with them under the condition that they oppose imperialism, support the national liberation movement and do not interfere in the internal affairs of other fraternal parties and fraternal countries. We must adopt the positive attitude of criticizing their negative side and helping them to rectify it, and, at the same time, appreciating their positive side.

In the opinion of our Party, it is a good thing for all the socialist countries to continue to march in the revolutionary ranks together, proceeding from the interests of the international communist movement. Then the might of the socialist camp can be strengthened and bigger blows can be dealt at imperialism.

The socialist camp is in a complicated situation because of the differences, but the socialist camp exists just the same. No one can break up the socialist camp at will. Even if any one brings a non-socialist country into the socialist camp, it does not make it a socialist country. On the other hand, even if any one excludes a socialist country from the socialist camp artificially, it does not cease to be a socialist country.

The socialist camp is an integral whole which is united on the common political and economic basis and closely knitted for the same purpose of socialist and communist construction. All the socialist countries form the socialist camp as equal members. The more countries stay in the socialist camp, the better it will be. It cannot be a bad thing. Ultimate victory of the world revolution will be achieved through the victory of revolution in each country and the expansion of the socialist camp.

Our Party has always defended the whole socialist camp and is opposed to all acts of splitting it. Our Party will continue to unite with all the fraternal parties and the fraternal countries, while fighting right and "left" opportunism. We will fight on determinedly to uphold the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Fraternal Parties.

The U.S. imperialists now take advantage of the disunity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement to further intensify aggression and plunder everywhere in the world. Particularly, they are expanding their aggressive war against the Vietnamese people by throwing in a huge number of armed forces.

It is true that the peace-loving people are launching extensive campaigns to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people on all the continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. But we communists cannot be satisfied with this alone. We must better organize the struggle to aid the Vietnamese people against the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism on an international scale and advance it onto a higher stage. As the U.S. imperialists escalate the war of aggression in Vietnam, so the people of the whole world should escalate their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism and aid the Vietnamese people.

To this end, it is most important to achieve an anti-imperialist joint action on an international scale and form an anti-imperialist united front.

Attainment of the anti-imperialist joint action and anti-imperialist united front is the most urgent question of principle in the international communist movement today. It concerns the fundamental question of whether the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war can be checked or not, whether the socialist camp can be defended or not, whether the national liberation movement can be stepped up or not and whether world peace and security can be safeguarded or not.

The anti-imperialist joint action and anti-imperialist united front, when materialized, would make it possible to unfold the campaign to aid the Vietnamese people more powerfully and to frustrate the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war and safeguard Asian and world peace. It would also provide conditions for gradually overcoming the differences among the fraternal parties and recovering the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement to accelerate the revolutionary movement in all countries more positively. Anti-imperialist joint action is, therefore, absolutely necessary not only for the benefit of the cause of peace but for the benefit of the cause of revolution.

As soon as U.S. imperialism started armed invasion against Vietnam, our Party called for waging an anti-imperialist joint struggle to make a collective counter-attack on the aggressors. A number of other fraternal parties have suggested the same.

But the anti-imperialist joint struggle has not as yet been actualized due to the differences within the international communist movement. We believe that the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties must tide over this situation and pool their strength in opposing U.S. imperialism and aiding the people of Vietnam in their struggle.

All the socialist countries have, on a number of occasions, condemned the Vietnam aggression by U.S. imperialism and expressed their party and state support to the fighting Vietnamese brothers. And all of them give economic and military aid to the people of Vietnam. The communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries, too, are active in their struggle to oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression and to support the Vietnamese people.

In view of this, we consider that despite the differences over certain questions, there is an initial basis for taking anti-imperialist joint action in countering U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and aiding the Vietnamese people. We should not ignore this and should strive energetically to bring about an anti-imperialist united front.

Refusal of anti-imperialist joint action does not contribute to truly defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and cementing the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, and cannot be regarded as the attitude of opposing U.S. imperialism and aiding the fighting Vietnamese people.

The basic strategy of the world revolution today is to direct the spearhead of attack to U.S. imperialism.

We must distinguish clearly between the enemy and the friend who has made an error. The enemy should be beaten, whereas the friend who has made a mistake should be criticized and enabled to take the right path. We should in this way unite with all friends and fight the main enemy.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, we must strive to take joint action with the communist and workers' parties and democratic public organizations of all countries and international democratic organizations. It is true that these organizations are not of the same opinion on various problems, and their positions, too, differ from each other and their composition is also complex. But they have vast masses under them. To enlist still greater masses in the anti-imperialist struggle, communists must not reject joint action with the organizations.

Communists should not see the differences only, but turn their eyes to common features in their views, and should always observe the whole aspects of the matter and refrain from running to an extreme. If we fail to take joint action with the communist and workers' parties and democratic public organizations of all countries and international democratic organizations, the vast masses united under them will fall out from the anti-imperialist front. Without the masses there is no carrying on the revolution. By taking joint action with those organizations we can approach and exert revolutionary influence upon the masses affiliated with them, and mobilize them to the anti-imperialist struggle. Refusal to take the anti-imperialist joint action means to divorce from the masses and go in for isolationism and, in fact, will only bring about the serious consequence of undermining the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists should under no circumstances be hidebound. We must rally all the ant-imperialist forces and unfold a struggle against imperialism by a united force. It is a basic principle of the communist strategy and tactics today to extend the anti-imperialist front by winning over more allies, even if they are not a consistent and steadfast force, to isolate U.S. imperialism to the largest possible extent and deal blows to it by joint action.

The history of the international communist movement knows many instances of the communists taking joint action with the right social democrats in the struggle against imperialist wars. The

(Continued on page 5)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 4)

united front policy of communists played a big role in the past in mobilizing the people for a struggle against imperialist wars.

In the historical conditions of today when the world's socialist forces have grown stronger, there exist greater opportunities of realizing the anti-imperialist joint action on an international scale. Drawing on the historical experience of the international communist movement, we must exploit even the slightest opportunity to unfold a powerful joint anti-imperialist struggle.

It has become an international trend of today to condemn the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and give support to the Vietnamese people. Even those who took to revisionism have found it hardly possible to hold out before the world public opinion without supporting the Vietnamese people. This is a good thing, by no means bad. Of course, there may be various categories of people among those who come out against U.S. imperialism in suppot of the Vietnamese people. There may be some who condemn the U.S. imperialists' aggression and support the Vietnamese people in order to make up for their past mistakes which they now repent. Others may join reluctantly in the anti-imperialist struggle under pressure from their own people and the peoples throughout the world, although their fundamental position still remains unchanged.

But, whatever their motives, it is necessary to enlist all these forces in the joint anti-imperialist struggle. If there is one who would like to rectify his past mistakes at least on the Vietnam question, that is undoubtedly a good, welcome thing. And even when someone opposes U.S. imperialism and support the Vietnamese people reluctantly, under pressure from the people, that will also be conducive, and not detrimental, to the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is our belief that the more forces are drawn into the joint anti-imperialist struggle, the better it will be. It is necessary to induce reluctant people to join in the anti-imperialist struggle and encourage the passive people to take up a positive attitude in this struggle.

Further, the joint struggle against U.S. imperialism will draw a sharper line of distinction between the Marxists-Leninists and the revisionists. Actual struggle will reveal who is genuine and who is shamming in opposing U.S. imperialism, and in supporting the Vietnamese people. Practice is the yardstick that tells right from wrong. Opportunism can be overcome through the practice of revolutionary struggle as well as ideological struggle.

In achieving joint action, the communists must always adhere to the principle of uniting while fighting and of fighting while uniting. The joint action we advocate does not mean unconditional unity or unprincipled compromise. What we mean is to take concerted action and join strength with the anti-imperialist forces in opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting the Vietnamese people, while upholding the Marxist-Leninist principles. In this way we should, in the course of our joint struggle, criticize and overcome the opportunist elements, support and encourage the anti-imperialist aspects.

We consider that the anti-imperialist joint action is in no way in conflict with the struggle against revisionism. Rather, it is a positive form of struggle against opportunism of all hues. To realize joint action and united front against imperialism is a correct policy which not only makes it possible to carry on a successful struggle against imperialism but brings about revolutionary awakening of the masses, enabling them to oppose all kinds of opportunist trends and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

It is an urgent task for the communists of the whole world today to work out and take concrete steps for joint action in opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting the Vietnamese people.

We deem it necessary for the socialist countries, first of all, to dispatch international volunteers to assist the fighting people of Vietnam. This will be the first step towards the realization of joint action against imperialism. If we dispatch international volunteers to Vietnam, it will prove a serious blow to the U.S. imperialist aggressors and dissuade them from reckless escalation of the war of aggression in Vietnam.

We must actively see to it that the international democratic organizations also take joint action against imperialism. They make it their central task to oppose U.S. imperialism and give support to the fighting peoples. Thus, the democratic public organizations in all countries should be made to achieve the anti-imperialist joint action through the medium of the international democratic organizations, and all the international democratic organizations would, in unity, take joint action to oppose U.S. imperialism and support the peoples of the fighting nations. If the anti-imperialist joint action is achieved in this way in the activities of the international democratic organizations, it will display a great force.

But these measures alone will not fully solve the question of realizing the anti-imperialist joint action and united front. The most important thing is to provide conditions for the fraternal parties to attain the anti-imperialist joint action. The communist and workers' parties should, first of all, wage an uncompromising struggle against imperialism and give active support to the revolutionary movements of the peoples, each from its own position. In this course, we should gradually narrow down the differences and create an atmosphere conducive to mutual contacts. And when definite conditions are created, the fraternal parties may hold a conference and discuss the question of the anti-imperialist joint action in a concrete way.

We have to work actively, despite all difficulties, to realize the anti-imperialist joint action and anti-imperialist united front on an international scale. This, we believe, is the way for all the fraternal parties to be loyal to the Marxist-Leninist principles and discharge their internationalist duties at the present time.

It is a matter of importance in the international communist movement that the communist and workers' parties uphold the principle of independency. Only when each party has independency can it successfully carry on the revolution in its country and contribute to the world revolution, and can the cohesion of the international communist movement be strengthened.

To be independent is each party's sacred right which no one is allowed to violate, the each party is duty bound to respect the independency of other fraternal parties. Respect for independency is prerequisite and basic to the unity and co-operation of the fraternal parties. The unity and co-operation between the fraternal parties can be truly voluntary, solid and comradely only if all of them respect each other's independency.

The relations of the fraternal parties should be based on the principles of complete equality, independency, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely co-operation. This is the norm defined at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries on the basis of the historical experience of the international communist movement, and its correctness has already been confirmed in life. The communist and workers' parties without exception must strictly abide by and be true to this standard. When it is violated, complicated problems will arise between fraternal parties, the unity of the international communist movement will be undermined and many difficulties will crop up in the forward movement.

In recent years there have been incessant violations of the norms governing the mutual relations of the fraternal parties in the international communist movement. This has given rise to the complicated problems in the international communist movement and offered serious obstacles to the unity of the fraternal parties.

All parties must respect other parties on an equal footing and strive to maintain comradely relations with each other. There can be no senior and junior party, nor a party that gives directions and a party that receives directions among the communist and workers' parties. No party is entitled to claim a privileged position in the international communist movement.

There is no international organization in the international communist movement which gives exclusive guidance to the activities of the parties of all countries. The times have changed and the days are gone when the communist movement needed the international centre. After the dissolution of the Third International there is no more "centre" or "pivot" in the international communist movement. It is therefore impossible that a "centre" of the revolution should shift from one country to another. It is impossible, moreover, that any one country becomes the "centre of the world revolution" or any one party becomes the "leading party" in the international communist movement.

Revolution in each country is carried on by its people under the leadership of its own party, and not by a certain international "centre" or by the party of any other country. Communists accept no "pivot" or "centre" whatsoever in the international communist movement. If they accept it, it would mean to allow a certain party to enjoy a privileged position. Then that party will rise to a high position from where it will be able to give instructions and orders to other parties, while the latter will have to obey and worship the former. Should such a relationship be allowed between the fraternal parties, it will deprive each party of its independency and of the possibility to carry on revolution and construction in its own country at its own discretion. This kind of relationship can never be tolerated in the international communist movement.

The communist and workers' parties, as equal members of the international communist movement, are making contributions together to the development of the international revolutionary movement and Marxism-Leninism.

If they are to play the role of vanguard in the revolution, they must be guided solely by Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the most scientific and revolutionary theory tested in practice and the acme of all the progressive ideologies of mankind.

It outlines universal laws which must be observed without fail in the revolution and construction in all countries. Each party, applying Marxism-Leninism creatively in the actual realities of its country, should work out and put into effect its own guiding theory for the revolution and construction in its country. It cannot direct revolution and construction with the guiding theory of others.

Each party's guiding theory is of importance only within the bounds of its country. Each country's realities being different from the other's, the guiding theory of a party, however excellent, does not fit another country. It is therefore impossible to put up any one party's guiding theory as that for the communists of all lands. Hence, it must not be imposed upon other parties.

For the Korean communists the only guiding principle is Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of our Party worked out through its creative application in the actual realities of our country. Apart from this, there can be no other guiding ideology for us.

The communists must under no circumstances be supercilious or impose their views upon other parties. It is not permissible among the communist and workers' parties to bring pressure to bear upon other parties or interfere in their internal affairs because the latter do not toe their line. In the international communist movement, however, there are still now instances of some parties imposing their views and lines upon other parties and bringing pressure to bear upon the latter and interfering in their internal affairs because they do not accept them.

The interference by certain fraternal parties in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Japan is one of such instances. Even when there exist differences, fraternal parties should not back up the anti-party sectarians within another party, sow confusion in it and split the democratic movement in its country. Interference from outside has brought serious difficulties to the activities of the Communist Party of Japan. Despite all these difficulties, the Communist Party of Japan is consistently upholding independency, opposing interference in its internal affairs, and is unwaveringly leading the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people.

Our Party, too, has had a bitter experience of interference by great-power chauvinists in its internal affairs. Needless to say, those great-power chauvinists got due rebuff. At that time we, in the interests of the revolution and proceeding from a desire to preserve unity, settled the issue among ourselves, though it was hard for us to endure. In the future, too, we should oppose all manner of interference in our internal affairs and guard against great-power chauvinism.

In the international communist movement there is no party which has a monopoly of the right to frame arbitrary conclusions on the problems of principle. No party should draw arbitrary conclusions on important international issues and force other parties to accept them. The communist and workers' parties must consult on matters of common concern and act in line with the conclusions agreed upon between them. Only then can the unity of will and action be guaranteed.

Each party should be careful not to be carried away by subjectivism in dealing with important international issues or in relation to the fraternal parties. Communists must not make light of any fraternal parties nor harbour prejudices against them because the latter do not obey them or have different views.

No party should regard other fraternal parties as going against Marxism-Leninism because their stand is different from its own. And let there be no such practice as arbitrarily attaching this or that label to the fraternal parties which maintain independent positions.

Now some people label our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties "neutralism," "eclecticism," "opportunism" and the like. They say we are taking the "road of unprincipled compromise" and "sitting on two chairs at the same time." This is nonsense. We have our own chair. Why should we give up our own chair and sit uncomfortably on two others' chairs? We will always sit on our upright Marxist-Leninist chair. Those who accuse us, who are sitting on our upright chair, of sitting on two chairs, are no doubt sitting on a crooked chair on the left or on the right.

The slanders against our Party merely serve that our Party not only opposes right opportunism but also is uncompromising with left opportunism, and is firmly adhering only to the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism. We oppose opportunism of all hues, because we are Marxists-Leninists.

A communit should not be so overbearing as to claim that whatever he does is right and whatever others do is wrong.

It is impermissible to behave like this among comrades fighting for the common cause. Communists may have different opinions on this or that matter, though they are all guided by Marxism-Leninism. But even so, they must have an understanding of each other, hold sincere consultations and strive for unity. This is the rule of conduct communists must observe.

All communists have their own standpoint and can tell right from wrong. When a party has ties with other parties, the former must not be regarded unjustly as subscribing to the latter's lines and policies or blindly taking the cue from them. Regarding others with suspicion is a specific feature of great-power chauvinism and sectarianism. Great-power chauvinists and sectarians readily suspect others and like to divide into sides. We would not take any "side." Should anyone ask us which "side" we are on, we would answer we are on the "side" of Marxism-Leninism, on the "side" of the revolution. Communists should not take a prejudiced view of the independent activities of any fraternal parties and should not be too inquisitive about them. The activities of all the communist and workers' parties cannot be fitted into a definite framework. The policies of the fraternal parties cannot be the same, because the actual situation and revolutionary tasks in each country

(Continued on page 6)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 5)

are different from those in other countries. The uniform line of the international communist movement by no means excludes diversity in the policies of individual parties.

The communists must contain great-power chauvinism in the international communist movement. This requires that the fraternal parties do not follow anyone blindly but should maintain independency and reject great-power chauvinism. And all the parties should unite and prevent anyone from holding sway over the socialist camp and the international communist movement, preclude great-power chauvinism from exerting influence. If no one echoes and follows great-power chauvinism no matter who may flourish it, it will become impotent and produce no effect. Only when great-power chauvinism disappears, can the independency of all parties be assured firmly and the relations between the fraternal parties be developed in a healthy way.

Communists must learn to uphold their conviction under any circumstances. Communists cannot follow in the wake of others blindly, parrot what others say and move about in others' steps without his own conviction.

It is not on instructions from anyone nor to curry favour with him that the communits are engaged in the revolution. They carry on the revolution out of their faith in Marxism-Leninism for the emancipation of the working class and the working people in their countries, for the great cause of the international working class. It is a noble trait of the communists to uphold their conviction and fight unyieldingly for its sake.

The present situation in the international communist movement demands we maintain independency and our own bearings more firmly. If we lose independency and our own bearings and follow in others' steps in present-day conditions, we cannot hope for principle and consistency in our lines and policies. This not only will eventually do an enormous harm to our revolution and construction, but will inflict a great loss on the international communist movement.

We can not and will not dance to the tune of others. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist principles and the actual conditions of our country, we should work out our lines and policies for ourselves and implement them. In this way, we should push ahead vigorously with the revolution and construction. In the sphere of international activities, too, we must uphold our independent position on the basis of our conviction.

Our Party's independent position is linked closely with the principle of proletarian internationalism. Being internationalists, we categorically reject isolationism and nationalism. We immensely treasure the international solidarity of the working class and value the unity and cooperation with the fraternal parties and fraternal countries. We deem it necessary to set store by the experience of other parties and learn from each other. What we are against is the tendency to follow others blindly without independency, only depending on others without faith in one's strength, swallowing the experience of others whole without approaching them critically.

We should continually develop our relations with the fraternal parties and fraternal countries on the basis of a correct combination of the principles of independency and unity. We maintain that the socialist camp and the international communist movement should unite in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in accordance with the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Fraternal Parties.

To unite and co-operate on the basis of equality and independency and to maintain independency while consolidating international solidarity is the firm policy our Party has been consistently following in its relations with the fraternal parties and fraternal countries. This policy not only accords with the interests of the revolution and construction in our country but also is fully consistent with the interests of the international communist movement. It will conduce to surmounting the difficulties existing in the international communist movement at present and achieving a genuine unity.

The international developments and various events in the international communist movement in recent years have confirmed in full the correctness of the lines and policies of our Party.

All our successes are associated with our Party's independent line. It was thanks to this line that our Party has not made right or "left" deviations in its internal and external activities and has been able to avoid errors on matters of principle.

Today the international prestige of our Party has grown and the international position of the Republic has been consolidated. We have won innumerable friends and sympathizers throughout the world. Our Party line of independency in the international communist movement is receiving support from more and more fraternal parties. The achievements made by our Party in its external activities inspire us with due confidence and pride.

Our Party will, as in the past, continue to hold fast to the line of independency in its internal and external activities, safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the right and "left" opportunism, and abide by the principles contained in the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of All Countries. Our Party will endeavour to defend the unity of the socialist camp and solidarity of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, oppose imperialism in close unity with the peoples of the whole world and carry the revolution through to the end.

II. On Acceleration of Socialist Construction and Strengthening of Our Revolutionary Base

Comrades,

The greatest national task confronting the Korean Workers' Party and the Korean people at the present stage is to accomplish the country's unification and the victory of the revolution on a nation-wide scale. To do so, it is necessary first of all to push ahead vigorously with the revolution and construction in North Korea where the people have already taken power into their hands and are building a new life, and to turn into a powerful base of our revolution. The advancement of socialist construction and growth of the revolutionary forces in North Korea constitute the decisive guarantee for the unification of our country and triumph of the Korean revolution as a whole. By enlisting all the potentials of the Party and the people, we must further accelerate socialist construction in North Korea and build up our base of revolution politically, economically and militarily.

It is of paramount importance in our revolutionary struggle and construction work today to reorganize all work of socialist construction in line with the requirements of the prevailing situation and, in particular, to carry on the building of economy and defenses in parallel so as to increase our defense capabilities in the light of the enemy's aggressive manoeuvres. This is the basic strategic line of our Party which has been implemented for several years now in connection with the changed situation. In the future, too, we must follow this line of the Party with all firmness and consistency and base ourselves on it in all our work.

How to combine economic construction with the upbuilding of national defense poses as one of the fundamental questions on which depends the future of the building of socialism and communism. We communists should reject all manner of deviations which may possibly appear in this respect, and settle the matter in a correct way.

It is wrong to neglect economic construction while putting stress only on defense building under the pretext that a war will reduce everything to ashes once it breaks out. So is it to fail to fully strengthen defence potentials while putting stress only on economic construction, affected by a peaceful mood.

Of course, the danger of war cannot disappear so long as imperialism remains, and a great deal will be destroyed once a war breaks out. If one should neglect necessary economic construction for that reason, fearing war and the resultant devastation, it is impossible to increase the might of the country and improve the people's living standards, and it would become entirely impossible to build either socialism or communism before the downfall of imperialism. The danger of war engendered by the imperialists and the wars of aggression unleashed by them may possibly delay or interrupt our economic construction, but can never check our onward march for socialism and communism.

On the other hand, the people can prevent war and preserve and consolidate peace by waging a resolute struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Even so, should one fail to build up national defence duly, calculating simply that war will not break out, the danger of war can grow and it will become utterly impossible to protect the revolutionary gains and defend the country and the people against imperialist aggression, let alone building socialism and communism. The possibility of preventing war is no more than a possibility, and so long as there is imperialism, there can be no absolute guarantee of peace and a war can break out at any time.

We should neither overestimate nor underrate the danger of war and its destruction that might affect our socialist construction. Even if there is a growing danger of war, we, while increasing our defense potentials, must energetically continue with economic construction to make our country mighty and prosperous, to improve the people's livelihood and quicken the forward movement to socialism and communism. Our experience shows that even if a war breaks out and causes great destruction, we can build a new life again, so long as we have the Party, the Government, the people and the territory. At the same time, even if a war does not break out now, we must continue to reinforce defense capabilities and always be prepared to protect the revolutionary gains and defend the country and the people against imperialist aggression, while stepping up economic construction vigorously. Only when our defenses are built up rock-firm and we keep ourselves ready to strike back, will the enemy not dare challenge us and even if he starts a reckless adventure, we can administer a crushing blow to the aggressor and beat him in good time.

Acting on this principle, our Party has always combined economic construction properly with the upbuilding of national defense in accordance with its appraisal of the change in the situation at each stage.

In recent years, our Party has been compelled to direct special attention to further boosting our defense capabilities in the face of intensified aggressive manoeuvres of the imperialists. As you know, the U.S. imperialists provoked the Caribbean crisis against the Republic of Cuba in 1962, thereby challenging the entire socialist camp and making the international situation extremely tense. After that, they set out on aggressive manoeuvres still more openly in Asia. They provoked the Bac Bo incident against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, stepped up the war of aggression on a large scale in South Vietnam and aggravated tensions in Southeast Asia, the Far East and other parts of the world.

In view of the situation, our Party set forth the line of carrying on economic construction in parallel with defense upbuilding already at the Fifth Plenum of the Fourth Central Committee in 1962 and, while reorganizing economic construction, took a number of important measures for further increasing our defense potentials. Subsequent developments have proved that the step taken by our Party was entirely correct. By greatly boosting our defense power through our endeavours to carry out the Party's decision, we have become able to defend the security of our country firmly at a time when the imperialists are running amuck.

Today the aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists are stepped up and their plot for escalation of war is becoming more and more pronounced. The Pak Jung Hi clique in South Korea, upon U.S. instructions, is not only making active preparations for a new war, but has already joined the U.S. imperialists in the war of aggression in Vietnam. The situation has grown more tense and the danger of war is increasing in our country and all other areas of Asia.

In the prevailing situation, we must continue to build socialist economy and, along with this, carry on the building of defenses more energetically. We must build up our defenses rock-firm and get everything ready so that we may fight back the enemy's surprise attack at any moment. True, this will require lots of manpower and materials for national defense, and inevitably delay the economic development of our country in a certain measure. But we should direct more efforts to the strengthening of our defense capabilities to complete the country's defenses, though it may call for some readjustment of tempo in the development of national economy. This accords with the fundamental interests of the revolution and construction in our country at the present stage. It is therefore necessary for us to push ahead undeviatingly with both economic construction and defense upbuilding along the line set forth by the Party; we must not neglect either of them.

The building of socialist economy is an important revolutionary task for us today. The communists struggle to bring freedom and liberation to the people and provide a new happy life to them. We have already emancipated our people from exploitation and oppression and ensured political liberty and rights to them by carrying out democratic and socialist revolutions in North Korea. By establishing the advanced socialist system, we have opened up a wide avenue for the development of the productive forces and improvement of the people's livelihood. Now it is important to further enhance the people's material well-being by consolidating the triumphant socialist system and bringing its advantage into full play. This calls for a successful building of the economy. Successful economic construction is essential for attaining a high level of development of the productive forces commensurate with socialist society, for making the country mighty and prosperous and decisively raising the living standards of the people. And the strengthening of foundations of an independent economy through vigorous promotion of economic construction is basic to the unshakable political independence and sovereignty of the country and to the augmentation of national defense potentials.

Socialist economic construction in North Korea is the basic guarantee of increasing the material power of our revolutionary base. It has enormous significance not only for the happy life of the people in North Korea but also for the unification and future prosperity of our country. By steadily increasing the economic might of North Korea, we can clearly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system to the South Korean people and give ever more powerful support to their revolutionary struggle. The socialist independent economy being built in North Korea will also serve as a reliable asset for rapid rehabilitation and development of the economy in South Korea after unification.

It is our national duty and at the same time our internationalist duty to build our economy successfully. We can fortify the eastern outpost of the socialist camp and help strengthen the might of the whole socialist camp only if we increase our own economic strength. After all, both the vitality of our socialist system and the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist lines and policies of our Party are reflected in the practical results of our

(Continued on page 7)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 6)

socialist economic construction. Our struggle for economic construction, therefore, is a struggle to increase the might of the socialist camp and promote the development of the international revolutionary movement, a struggle to demonstrate the true merits of the socialist system by disproving the slanders of the imperialists and reactionaries against this system, a struggle to overcome revisionism and dogmatism and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism in the communist movement.

Ever since immediately after liberation, our Party has done everything in its power to consolidate the economic foundations of the country and improve the material and cultural standards of the people. After the war we, acting upon the principle of self-reliance, laid the firm foundations of an independent national economy and solved in the main the question of meeting the people's requirements for food, clothing and housing. Under the leadership of the Party, our working people have unfolded an energetic labor struggle for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and achieved fresh successes in the socialist economic construction over the past five years. Our heavy industry bases have been reinforced, our light industry has developed further, and the material and technical foundations of agriculture have been strengthened substantially. Our towns and villages have been built better still and the material well-being and cultural standard of the people, too, have been improved on the whole. We must continue to vigorously push forward the economic construction in order to consolidate and further our economic achievements and carry into effect the magnificent programme of socialist construction mapped out at the Fourth Congress of the Party.

What is important in our socialist economic construction today is to make an effective use of the economic foundations already created and decisively raise the quality of products and structures in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party our people have laid the powerful foundations of production in all fields of the national economy by carrying out a vast amount of construction work by their heroic endeavors and creative labor for more than ten years after the war. The bases of heavy and light industries and the socialist agriculture which we have built have immense productive potentialities. If we further adjust and reinforce those economic foundations and make an effective use of them, we can produce much more than now. We are now turning out an incomparably greater amount of industrial goods and farm produce than before, and have already attained a fairly high level in the output per head of the population. If we extend the variety of goods and radically improve their quality, we can satisfy the demands of the national economy and the population better even with the present volume of production. To make the most of the economic assets which we have already obtained and to raise the quality in production and construction—this is the basic direction of economic development in our country at the present stage, and herein lie vast reserves for the growth of production and improvement of the people's livelihood. Along this basic direction, we must bend our main efforts to mobilize all and every reserve and potential latent in the national economy. In the meantime, we should carry out new capital construction to further expand our economic foundations.

The central task in industry is to give precedence to the mining and power industries before others and add flesh to the skeletons of industry, to improve technical management and make more technical innovations, thereby normalizing production and expanding the production capacities to the fullest possible extent. In agriculture, grain output must be increased substantially and, at the same time, all other branches such as the production of industrial crops and vegetables, livestock breeding and fruit growing must be further developed by energetically promoting the technical revolution, improving labor administration, giving continued support to the countryside, and by raising the level of management on the co-operative farms. The growing requirements of the national economy for transport must be satisfied in full by rapidly developing railway and various other transport means, and the effectiveness of investment must be raised in all fields of the national economy by carrying on capital construction intensively on priority basis. In all fields an all-Party, nation-wide struggle must be unfolded to establish the Daian work system and build up the economic life frugally. We must, in this way, make our socialist country richer and stronger, radically improve the material and cultural standards of the people, and make preparations for a still larger-scale economic construction in the future.

Another important question in the socialist economic construction is to consolidate the economic independence of the country. To build an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance is a consistent line of our Party. We have already achieved brilliant successes in its implementation. Particularly, the present situation in which the imperialist manoeuvres for aggression have become undisguised and complicated problems have arisen within the socialist camp, makes it imperative for us to further cement the foundations of the independent economy of the country.

Of course, we will, in the future too, strive to extend and develop economic and technical co-operation with the fraternal countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit and of proletarian internationalism. We will promote economic ties and co-operation with the newly-independent countries in Asia and Africa, and with all countries which respect our sovereignty and are desirous of dealing with us to fill each other's economic needs. This co-operation must, however, be effected at all times on the basis of building our independent national economy. Only then can our own economic might be further increased and our co-operation with other countries be conducted effectively.

We must thoroughly carry out the Party's policy for further strengthening the foundations of the independent national economy. We must reinforce and equip perfectly all branches of production and enterprises, further improve the structure of the national economy, continue to develop medium and small enterprises along with large ones, distribute the country's productive forces rationally and, especially, promote the development of local economy. It is necessary to fearlessly surmount difficulties cropping up in the way of our forward march and successfully solve economic and technical problems by raising the technical levels and stepping up the struggle for economization in all fields and by further displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. We should thus turn our national economy into a more solid and virile independent economy so that we may fully meet the material requirements of the state and the people under whatever circumstances.

While accelerating the economic construction as best we can, we must do all we can to increase the country's defence power.

For this purpose, it is necessary first of all to firmly arm the People's Army and the entire people politically and ideologically.

Our People's Army is a revolutionary army, so the basic condition for increasing its might lies in arming the soldiers politically and ideologically. Its lofty mission and revolutionary spirit of fighting for the freedom and liberation of the people, the comradeship between men and officers, voluntary military discipline and close ties with the people—these are the characteristic features and advantages of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary army, alien to any imperialist aggressor army. It is thanks to these political and ideological merits that a revolutionary army can defeat an aggressor army far more superior in technical equipment and numerical strength. This is proved by the experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the Patriotic War of Liberation in our country, by the experience of many revolutionary wars in the world.

The basic mission of our People's Army—the direct continuer of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and a revolutionary armed force led by the Workers' Party—is to serve the Party and the revolution and defend their socialist motherland and people. Our People's Army is an army organized with best sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people; there is a perfect unity between its men and officers; and it maintains a kinship relation with the people.

The Party organizations and Socialist Working Youth League organizations in the Army should regularly and energetically conduct political and ideological work among the armymen, thus bringing home to them the lofty mission of the People's Army and arming firmly with Marxist-Leninist ideas and the purports of the policies of our Party, with socialist patriotism and indomitable revolutionary spirit. It is necessary to further promote the traditional trait of unity between men and officers and between the people and armymen and establish steel-like military discipline in the Army. Our armymen should be educated to have a boundless love for their people, bear a burning hatred against the enemy and display mass heroism and valour in battle. The entire soldiers must, in this way, be reared into revolutionary fighters loyal to the Party, the revolution and the people, and our People's Army should be turned into an invincible army.

At the same time, the Party organizations of all levels should pay deep concern to the work of assisting and aiding the People's Army. The People's Army is the armed force of our Party and the reliable defender of our motherland and people. The Party organizations should energetically conduct propaganda and education on the People's Army among the Party members and the working people and actively assist and aid the People's Army in all aspects. They should see to it that all our cadres, Party members and people love the soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers of the People's Army like real brothers and sisters and assist and aid them with all sincerity. They should thus enable the officers and men of the People's Army to devote themselves entirely to discharging their military duties without any worries, receiving the profound affection, support and assistance of the whole Party and the entire people. We should see that in the event of war the armymen and the people, united firmly as one, fight solely for the defence of the motherland, sharing life and death, sweets and bitters, as true revolutionary comrades.

We should also see to it that the armymen and the people are not immersed in a peaceful mood but sharpen vigilance and maintain a strained posture at all times against aggressive manoeuvres and possible war provocation of the enemy. The communists do not want war, but never fear it. To be afraid of war is a manifestation of bourgeois pacifism and a revisionist ideological trend. We must strictly prevent such ideological virus from appearing within our ranks or infiltrating from without. We must prepare the entire armymen and people to counter bravely any surprise attack of the enemy without the slightest confusion.

To increase our defence power it is essential to carry through the military line of our Party on the basis of arming the Army and the people politically and idelogically. Having defined it as the basic content of its military line to train our Army into an army of cadres, modernize it, place the entire people under arms and turn the whole land into a fortress, our Party has exerted tireless efforts to put it into practice and already attained great successes in this respect. We should continue to abide by the Party's military line and carry it through to the end.

The training of the People's Army into a cadre army and its modernization constitute an important guarantee for reinforcing our Army into an invincible armed force. We should steel the People's Army ranks politically and ideologically, militarily and technically so that in case of emergency everyone, from the rank and file up to the general, can undertake and perform the duty of a higher rank. This makes it possible not only to greatly enhance the combat capabilities of the People's Army itself but bring up numerous military cadres and thus rapidly expand our armed force if need be.

When the political and ideological superiority of a revolutionary army is combined with modern military techniques, it can display a really great force. At present military science and techniques are making a leaping development in the world, and up-to-date arms and military equipment are mobilized in the modern warfare. Our enemies are equipping themselves with more and more weapons of new type. We must firmly arm our People's Army with modern weapons and combat material to counter the aggression of the enemies armed to the teeth, to meet the requirements of modern warfare. We must modernize arms by all possible means and make them still more powerful on the basis of the latest successes of science and technology. The servicemen should be made to undergo energetic military training so as to handle up-to-date weapons skillfully and possess an adequate knowledge of modern military science and techniques.

In modernizing the People's Army and developing military science and techniques it is required to take into full account the actual conditions of our country which abounds with mountains and has long coast-lines. The experience of the past Patriotic War of Liberation shows clearly that if dogmatist errors are committed in the military sphere, it may cause a serious loss to national defence. While actively endeavoring to modernize the People's Army, therefore, we must always develop and apply military science and techniques which are suited to the specific conditions of our country, properly using modern weapons along with conventional ones.

The arming of the entire people and the fortification of the whole country are a most powerful military strategic defence system which is capable of thwarting any attack of the enemy. This is designed to carry out the mass line of our Party and effect the principle of self-defence in national defence to the fullest extent. By arming the entire people and fortifying the whole land we can smash the uninterrupted subversive activities of the enemy at every step and crush all forms of armed invasion with our own efforts. This defence system can be established only on the basis of the political and ideological unity of the people and the solid economic foundations of the country under our socialist system.

We must arm, along with the People's Army, the entire people including the workers and peasants and build indestructible defence installations in all parts of the country, both on the front and at the rear. We should solidly build up the ranks of the worker-peasant militia, intensify their military and political training and see that all cadres and Party members acquire military knowledge, attend the military training and study the experience of war. The militia men and workers in factories should guard their work places and the militia men and peasants in the countryside their villages, and thus the entire people holding arms in one hand and hammer and sickle in the other, should reliably safeguard our socialist motherland and continue to build socialism successfully. We should, in this way, convert our whole territory into an impregnable fortress so that we can wipe out the enemies wherever they invade in our country.

Victory in modern warfare depends largely on whether or not the manpower and material resources needed to carry out the war are fully supplied for a long period. Hence we should direct deep attention to consolidating the rear. In particular, we should build up well zones of military strategic importance, develop the munitions industry and create the reserves of necessary materials. We should also be prepared from peacetime to place the whole economy on a war footing promptly in the event of need and to carry on production in wartime.

(Continued on page 8)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 7)

too.

Our Party and people will thus promote economic construction in parallel with national defence build-up in conformity with the current situation, and thereby translate into reality the magnificent programme of socialist construction, while discharging with credit the duty of defending the nation at the same time.

Comrades, revolution and construction is the work of the masses themselves and it can be fulfilled successfully only when the broad masses are mobilized under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, the most important of all in accelerating our socialist construction and fortifying our revolutionary base is to reinforce the Party, the general staff of revolution, educate and remould the entire people and rally them around the Party, namely to build up the ranks of revolution politically and ideologically.

Our Party has constantly striven to consolidate itself organizationally and ideologically through practical struggle for the revolution and construction, awaken the masses and win them over to the side of revolution, bring up the entire Party members into revolutionaries through the nuclear role of the communists steeled in the long revolutionary struggle and educate all the people in revolutionary spirit through the nuclear role of the Party members.

As a result, our Party has grown into a seasoned Marxist-Leninist party which is firmly united with one mind and will and accumulated a wealth of experience, the Party ranks have gained in scope and strength and a large number of new revolutionaries capable of creditably carrying forward our revolutionary cause have grown up. Our people have been tempered in the thick of struggle and have come to place an infinite trust in the Party through their actual experience of struggle and are united around it rock-firm.

In the northern part of our country, the exploiting class and all manner of exploitation systems were liquidated once and for all and a new socialist system established and, on this basis, the worker-peasant alliance has been further consolidated and the political and ideological unity of the entire people attained. In the exploiter society, the class antagonism and struggle between the exploiting and exploited classes, between the ruling and the ruled classes constitute the basis of social relationship, but in our society where the socialist system triumphed, unity and co-operation among the working class, co-operative farmers and working intellectuals constitute the basis of social relationship. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals, because of their common socio-economic positions and their common goal and interests, are united in a comradely way, closely cooperate with each other and fight alike for the victory of the cause of communism under the leadership of our Party.

The political and ideological unity of the masses of the people based on the worker-peasant alliance and their common aspiration and enthusiasm to build socialism and communism under the leadership of the Party is the basic motive power propelling the progress of our society and a decisive factor of speeding up the building of socialism. The source of our invincible might, the foundation of the firmness of our society, too, lies precisely in this cohesion.

This, of course, does not mean that there are neither hostile elements nor class struggle within our ranks. The class struggle goes on under socialism, too.

The class struggle under socialism finds expression, above all, in the struggle against the subversive activities of the hostile elements worming from without and of the remnants of the overthrown exploiting class and in the struggle against bourgeois and feudal reactionary ideas and their penetration. The enemies make all and every attempt to destroy our socialist system and restore their old positions. Though the hostile elements lurking within our ranks are very few, we must heighten alertness against the enemy's subversive manoeuvrings and smash them to pieces. Especially in our situation where the country remains divided and we stand directly opposed to the U.S. imperialists, the chieftain of world reaction, it stands out as a more important problem to struggle against the subversive activities, sabotage and ideological infiltration by the enemy, to which we should always pay deep attention.

Under socialism the survivals of the obsolete ideas also remain in the minds of the working people and the struggle against this is also a manifestation of the class struggle in the sense that it is a struggle between the working class ideology and the bourgeois ideology. If we weaken the struggle against the outmoded ideological survivals, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas may be encouraged among the working people and it would not only throw big obstacles in the way of socialist construction but would easily play into the hands of the enemy in its subversive activities. We must not slacken even the least struggle against the outworn ideas among the toiling masses but must carry it on vigorously.

The struggle against the remnants of outdated ideologies, however, is an internal affair of the woking people who advance hand in hand to realize the common ideal and it is a task raised in order to educate and remould all the working people and lead them up to communist society. Therefore, this problem, unlike that of suppressing the hostile elements, should be solved at all times by means of persuasion and education and should be the one for remoulding the ideas of the people to further strengthen their unity.

We should not underestimate the danger of survivals of the outdated ideas, and yet, it should not be exaggerated too much.

In our society today there exist no socio-economic and material sources for the emergence of the obsolete ideas, and the predominating ideology of our working people is the revolutionary idea of Marxism-Leninism and the idea of communism. Accordingly, the outmoded ideological survivals can be fully overcome by persistent ideological education among the working people.

In closely knitting our revolutionary ranks it is very important to combine properly the work of cementing the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people with the class struggle against the machinations of the hostile elements. One may commit a "leftist" error if one emphasizes the class struggle only and overstates it, forgetting that the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentia constitutes the basis of social relations under socialism. In that case, one may tend to suspect people, may treat innocent persons like hostile elements, deflect the party from the masses and cause unrest in society. On the contrary one may commit the rightist error if he sees only the political and ideological unity of the masses of the people and absolutizes it, oblivious of the fact that under socialism also there exist hostile elements, remain the outmoded ideological survivals and continues the class struggle. In that case, vigilance may be benumbed against hostile elements, the struggle against the obsolete ideas weakened, the leading role of the party and the working class paralyzed and bourgeois influence may spread widely in the social life. After all, both the right and "left" deviations will render it impossible to clearly tell friend from foe and correctly implement the class and mass lines and will bring heavy losses to the upbuilding of socialism and communism. We should oppose both the right and "left" deviations and steadily strengthen the unity and solidarity of the masses of the people, while skillfully waging the class struggle.

From the viewpoint of class relationship, the course of building socialism and communism is a process in which the working class, having seized power, transforms society into its own pattern in all spheres of economy and culture, ideology and morality, that is, a process of transforming it into the society of the working class. The historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only lies in liquidating the exploiting class and putting down its resistance but in remoulding all the working people to equip themselves with the working class ideas and thus gradually eliminating all class distinctions. In our society where the exploiting class is wiped out and where the socialist system has triumphed, an important task of the proletarian dictatorship is the work of educating and remoulding the working people and turning the whole society to be of the working class.

By correctly combining the class line and the mass line, we must isolate and suppress a handful of hostile elements, educate and remould the broad masses and rally them closer around the Party. We must constantly enhance the leading role of the working class, revolutionize the peasants and intellectuals and equip them with the working class ideas and thus further cement the political and ideological unity of our society.

With the progress of socialist construction in our country, the ranks of working class have grown speedily and the standards of their ideology and consciousness and their culture and technique have risen markedly. Our working class has been successfully carrying out the historical mission of transforming society and is displaying a high degree of revolutionary zeal, creative initiative in socialist construction.

The working class does not obliterate the class distinctions by weakening its class leadership or by dissolving itself in other sections of people. On the contrary, the working class holds fast to its class position, ceaselessly raises its leading role and remoulds other working people into the working class.

As a result, it strengthens solidarity with them and gradullay obliterates all manifestations of class distinctions. We should, therefore, elevate the leading role of the working class in all the spheres of social life and strengthen its revolutionary influence.

We should further heighten the ideological, organizational and cultural abilities of the working class and more firmly consolidate its ranks.

Thus, we should make our working class a truly revolutionary and cultural class so that it may perform more successfully its role as a leading class.

The peasantry is the most reliable ally of the working class and is one of main elements of our revolution.

Always directing deep concern to the peasant question and pursuing a correct agrarian policy, our Party has successfully solved this question. We abolished the feudal relation by carrying out the land reform in the countryside shortly after liberation and, in the post-war period, reorganized the private rural economy into a socialist collective economy, thereby emancipating the peasants from all manner of exploitation and oppression, and remoulded them into the socialist working people. Through democratic revolution and socialist revolution and through socialist construction, the socio-economic position of our peasants have not only changed fundamentally but a great change has taken place in their ideology and consciousness, and their technical and cultural standards have also been raised speedily.

The worker-peasant alliance led by the working class has been firmly established on the foundation of socialism and their political and labour enthusiasm of the peasants continues to increase.

Our task is to consolidate and develop the successes already attained in the solution of the agrarian question and, furthermore, to overcome all backwardness left behind in the countryside by the exploiter society and obliterate step by step the distinctions between town and country, the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry; that is to strive for the final solution to the peasant question. Our Party summed up our achievements and experience in the agrarian work and expounded the basic principles and specific ways and means for the solution to the agrarian question under socialism. In accordance with the correct line advanced by the Party, we should powerfully carry on technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, continuously strengthen the leadership over and assistance to the countryside by the Party and State of the working class and steadily bring co-operation ownership closer to ownership by the whole people, developing the two forms of ownership in an organic way.

Thus, by equipping agriculture with modern technique like industry and by consolidating and developing socialist system established in the countryside, we should elevate the material and cultural living standards of the peasants to the level of the working class and remould the peasants' ideology, revolutionizing them and equipping them with working class ideas.

Intellectuals play an important role in the construction of a new society. Only by firmly knitting the ranks of their intellectuals can the working class in power develop rapidly science, technique, literature and arts, and successfully build up socialism and communism.

Since the first day of its founding, our Party, taking into consideration the important role intellectuals play in revolution and construction, has persisted in the efforts to educate and remould the old-line intellectuals, while rearing a large number of new intellectuals from the working people. It is true that the old-line intellectuals are mostly from rich families and had served Japanese imperialism and the exploiting class in the past. But, they, as intellectuals of a colony, had been subjected to national oppression and discrimination by foreign imperialism and, therefore, had national and democratic revolutionary spirit. Our Party took into account their revolutionary spirit and adopted the line of actively drawing them in the building of a new society and thus remoulding them into the intellectuals serving the working people. Our old-line intellectuals have traversed the path indicated by the Party over the past 20 years, devoting themselves to the country and the people in good faith and performing great merits in revolution and construction. They have grown into fine socialist intellectuals thanks to the tireless education of the Party and through the trials of arduous revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, thanks to the correct policy of our Party on education and training of cadres, hundreds of thousands of new intellectuals of the working people's stock have been brought up, who serve the revolutionary cause in all spheres of government, economy, culture and military. Thus our Party has remoulded the old-line intellectuals and fostered new intellectuals, thereby building up its reliable contingent of intellectuals. All our intellectuals place boundless faith in the Party and are united rock-firm around the Party and are displaying a high degree of zeal and creativeness in socialist construction. This testifies to the correctness of our Party's policy on intelligentia and its brilliant victory.

Today we are confronted with an important task of continually revolutionizing the intellectuals. To revolutionize and transform them into the intellectuals of the working class means to completely eradicate the residue of outworn ideas still remaining in their minds, equip the revolutionary spirit of the working class, with communist ideas and bring them up into true intellectuals of the working class, into active communists.

True, the intellectuals are relatively more affected than others by the remnants of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas in their minds. But it is altogether wrong to distrust, for this reason, the revolutionary spirit of the intellectuals and, moreover, to disbelieve our intellectuals remoulded and tested in the flames of struggle. To suspect and reject the intellectuals is a factionalist tendency. To underestimate their role is a tendency of ignoring science and technology. These tendencies have nothing to do with our Party policy towards intelligentia.

Our Party trusts its intellectuals, spares and loves them and highly appreciates their merits. The Party will continue to guide and assist intellectuals patiently in their ideological transformation and provide them with all conditions so that they can render more distinguished services to socialist construction, giving full play to their wisdom and talents. Our intellectuals should have pride in the fact that they are full-fledged soldiers of the Party, fighters of the working class,

(Continued on page 9)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 8)

and actively endeavour to surmount the survivals of outdated ideologies and learn the revolutionary spirit, organization and militancy of the working class. At the same time, the intellectuals, bearing in mind that they serve the society chiefly with technique and knowledge, should do everything in their power to master their specialities and raise their scientific and technical qualifications. Our workers and peasants, on their part, should love intellectuals and openheartedly learn scientific knowledge and technique from them. Then, it is possible to succeed both in the work of transforming intellectuals to have them equipped with the working-class ideas and the work of elevating the technical and cultural standards of the workers and peasants up to the level of engineers and technicians. Only by so doing will it be possible to strengthen the unity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, develop creative co-operation among them and thereby facilitate the economic and cultural construction of the country. We will fully revolutionize all the intellectuals, both new and old, and induce them to identify themselves with the working class and will always fight together with them for the victory of the cause of communism.

In promoting the political and ideological unity of our society, the work with the people whose social and political backgrounds are complicated holds an important place. The social and political composition of our population has become very complex owing to the long Japanese colonial rule, the partition of the country by U.S. imperialism and to the enemy's estrangement manoeuvrings during the Patriotic War of Liberation. Such being the situation, we have to be particularly prudent in the work with various strata of the people.

The consistent principle our Party adheres to in the work with the people with complicated social and political backgrounds is that we should appraise them case by case, always attaching utmost importance to their tendency at present, isolate hostile elements to the maximum and win even a single more person to the side of revolution.

The social origin and ideology of the people are not unchangeable. Even those who committed crimes against the people in the past may repent them and turn into good persons today and even those whose social backgrounds are complex may come to possess progressive ideas as society advances and their environments change. As a matter of course, we must always maintain the class stand in the work with people and must remember that the out-and-out reactionary elements from the hostile class never desist from their subversive schemes. But such hostile elements are very few. As we trust the masses of the people and are convinced of the superiority of the socialist system, the justness of our cause and the invincible might and authority of our Party, we do not suspect people easily but rest assured that all people can be educated and remoulded unless they are wicked reactionaries. So, we boldly trust and accept even those whose social compositions, environments and past records are complex, and ensure them conditions to work without any worries as long as they suppot our Party and work hard at present. This line of our Party can shatter all the estrangement manoeuvres of the enemy, win over the masses of the people of all circles and strata to the side of the Party and the revolution, further isolate hostile elements and give them no room to set foot. We should, in the future, too, hold fast to this line and exercise it accurately in practice.

The policy of our Party with regard to various classes and strata of the society is a correct Marxist-Leninist policy based on the class and mass lines and it is in full accord with the realities of our country. This is clearly proved by the fact that though the composition of population of our society is complex and we stand directly confronted with the enemy, broad sections of the people are rallied around our Party with their revolutionary zeal and creative activity surging higher. We have to carry through the Party's class and mass lines, so that we may further expand and reinforce our revolutionary ranks and turn the whole society into a great family, closely united and harmonious, cheerful and vibrant.

To accelerate the process of transformation of society into one of the working class and solidly build up the revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to conduct political and ideological work persistently among the party members and the working people. Socialism creates the socio-economic and material conditions for remoulding the ideas of the working people and uniting them. However, the ideological remodelling and unity of the people do not come of themselves, simply because the socialist system triumphs and the livelihood improves. Only by carrying on ideological work more energetically and patiently in conformity with the progress of socialist construction, can we educate and remodel the working people in practice and rally them closely. The complicated international and internal situations we face today as well as the vast and arduous revolutionary task raised before us demand the further intensification of political and ideological work among the masses.

We must continue to vigorously conduct among the Party members and the working people communist education with class education as the main content in combination with the education in the revolutionary traditions and decisively deepen the education in Marxism-Leninism and the education in the Party policy.

The most important thing here is to heighten the class consciousness of the working people and imbue them with the hatred for imperialism, landlords and capitalists. Such class education should be conducted especially well for the new generation who has never experienced exploitation and oppression or undergone the ordeals of tortuous revolutionary struggle. We should bring home to the working people the aggressive nature of imperialism and the essence of the exploiting class and the exploitation system so as to make them hate imperialism, hate the exploiting class and the exploitation system and wage an uncompromising fight against them. We should educate the Party members and the working people to be faithful to the class principle so that they may harbour no illusion about the imperialists and hostile classes, keep high revolutionary vigilance against their aggressive manoeuvring and subversive activities and smash them at every step.

In particular, U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism are the most dangerous forces of aggression standing directly opposed to us and the main target of our struggle. We should further inflame hatred for American imperialism and Japanese militarism among our working people and prepare them ideologically to fight resolutely against U.S. and Japanese imperialism at all times.

We have not yet accomplished the national liberation revolution throughout the country and the people in South Korea are still groaning under the oppression of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. To liberate South Korea and unify the country is the national duty of the entire Korean people. We must educate the working people of the North in a revolutionary manner to oppose U.S. imperialist colonial rule in South Korea, oppose the reaggression of Japanese militarism and fight to carry forward the Korean revolution to the end. We should see that all our working people always remember the plight of the South Korean people and the task of national unification and devote themselves to all revolutionary struggle and construction work in the lofty spirit of assisting the South Korean brothers more actively.

Class education for the working people is a class struggle in the field of ideology. The struggle against imperialism and the exploiting class is inseparable from the struggle against their reactionary ideas. Without combating the survivals of obsolete ideas remaining in the minds of the working people, it is impossible to equip them with the ideas of the working class, i.e., the idea of communism. Moreover, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys employ every conceivable means and methods to spread bourgeois reactionary ideas within our ranks and resort to cunning tricks to utilize the backward ideological elements in the minds of our working people in their subversive activities.

That is why we should continue to wage powerfully the struggle to prevent the infiltration of bourgeois reactionary ideology and wipe out the outdated ideological survivals in the minds of the working people. We must categorically reject the reactionary bourgeois ideology and the corrupt bourgeois morality and way of life, oppose egoism, latitudinarianism and other remnants of outworn ideas and backward conventions and tirelessly strive for the triumph of the lofty communist idea and morality, for the establishment of the communist mode of living. We should see that all our working people oppose degradation and indolence, lead a frugal life, display voluntary zeal in labor, love the collective and the organization and endeavor to bring prosperity to all, helping each other and pulling each other along.

Whether the communists can lead the revolutionary cause of the working class to victory or not depends on whether or not they defend the Marxist-Leninist principles in their activities and apply them properly. For the Korean communists and people to carry out the Korean revolution successfully it is essential to defend and implement thoroughly the line and policy of our Party which creatively applies the Marxist-Leninist principles to the actual conditions in Korea. This is why the arming of the Party members and the working people with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party always poses a central problem in our ideological work. At a time when the slanders and abuses of the imperialists and the world reaction against the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become intensified as never before and opportunist ideological trends of all descriptions are appearing within the international communist movement, it stands out as a still more important problem before us to educate the Party members and the working people in Marxism-Leninism and the Party policy.

We must deepen our study of Marxism-Leninism and the Party policy throughout the Party, and must repeatedly explain and propagate the principles of Marxism-Leninism among the masses and bring the Party policy home to them. Everyone should regard his study and ideological education as the first and foremost revolutionary task and tirelessly strive to acquire the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism and grasp its quintessence and should firmly arm himself with the ideas of our Party and make the Party's line and policy an immovable faith of his own. We should, at the same time, make the Party members and the working people fully aware of the real nature and harmfulness of right and "left" opportunism such as modern revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism and acquaint them with all their manifestations. Thus we should see to it that all our Party members and working people, deeply convinced of the correctness of our Party's Marxist-Leninist line and policy, determinedly support and defend them and fight to carry them through to the end. We should enable the Praty members and working people to clearly discern Marxism-Leninism from right and "left" opportunism, resolutely oppose opportunism and always stick to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We must, in particular, oppose factionalism and defend the unity and solidarity of the Party. Through an arduous struggle, our Party overcame factionalism which had come down through its history, achieved the unity of the communist movement in Korea and firmly armed the entire Party membership with the Party ideas. Today our Party is knitted steel-like organizationally and ideologically and all the Party organizations and Party members act with one mind and will. But we must never be self-complacent. Our Party members must always remember that when the external and internal situations were complex and our revolution was undergoing trials, the anti-Party factionalists who had lurked within the Party came out to attack the Party in league with foreign sectarians. As long as there exist opportunist trends and great-nation chauvinist tendencies within the world communist movement, we cannot say that such an attempt will not be made again. And under the present complicated situation, waverers may appear within our ranks, too, particularly under factionalist and other opportunist influence from without. We must, therefore, always sharpen vigilance against factionalism. We must oppose any estrangement manoeuvres and factional activities within and without to make our Party members vacillate and split our ranks and must staunchly defend the Marxist-Leninist unity of our Party and consolidate it all the firmer.

Only by firmly preparing the whole Party and the entire people ideologically and theoretically and rallying them closely, can we prevent every hue and stripe of opportunist ideological trend from infiltrating from outside or from appearing inside and, whatever wind may blow, continue to advance victoriously, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the experienced leadership of the Party Central Committee.

The struggle to defend and implement the Marxist-Leninist line and policy of our Party is closely linked with the struggle to oppose flunkeyism toward the great powers and establish *Juche* (national identity). If one loses *Juche* and falls into flunkeyism, his faculty of independent thinking is paralysed, with the result that he will not only be unable to display any initiative but in the end, will even become unable to distinguish right from wrong and follow others blindly and will be inclined to count only on others for everything, losing faith in his own strength. Then he may lapse into right and "left" opportunism such as revisionism, dogmatism and factionalism and may eventually disrupt revolution and construction to a great extent.

We must reject all manifestations of flunkeyism and root it out, establish *Juche* more firmly in all spheres and give a fuller rein to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. We should continue to strictly abide by the principle of establishing *Juche* in ideology, independence in politics, self-reliance in economy and self-defence in national defence.

Education in socialist patriotism occupies a very important place in the ideological education of the working people.

Socialist patriotism is a patriotism of the working class and the working people aspiring to socialism and communism, patriotism that integrates class consciousness with the spirit of national independence, the love for their class and system with that for their nation and country. The working people including the working class make up the overwhelming majority of the nation, and the interests of the nation are unthinkable apart from the interests of the working people. The road to capitalism is a road to exploitation and oppression, a road to dependence and ruin, and socialism alone terminates class exploitation and national oppression and ensures complete independence and prosperity for the nation. This is why the communists fighting for the interests of the working people, for the sake of socialism, are the most steadfast patriots and only the working class and the other working people aspiring to their class emancipation and socialism can possess true patriotism.

Our socialist patriotism is based on the socialist system which is free from exploitation and oppression and brings freedom and happiness to the working people and, accordingly, it should be manifested, above all, in the affection for the socialist system and the toiling masses. We should bring home to the working people the superiority of the socialist system established in North Korea so that they may resoultely fight to defend this system and actively endeavour to consolidate and develop it. Each of the working people should be made to display a high degree of enthusiasm and creative initiative in socialist construction, deeply conscious of the fact that his labour is a honourable work for the consolidation of the socialist system and for the happiness of the working people. All the working people should be educated to care for and protect state and public properties as the common treasure of the people, take good care of the joint economy and strive hard to build up the economic life of the

(Continued on page 10)

PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

(Continued from page 9)

country assiduously.

Socialist patriotism finds expression in the love for the socialist system and the working people, and in the love for their own country and nation. Those who were born in Korea make the revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is the basic duty of the communists and people of Korea. Apart from the Korean nation and Korean soil we can never talk about the Korean revolution, and, without taking into account the history and traditions of Korea, the life, sentiments and manners and customs of Koreans, it is impossible to carry out the Korean revolution successfully. One who does not love his own country and nation cannot work sincerely for the revolution of his country and cannot devote his all to its victory. This is why we communists love our motherland and nation more ardently than anyone else, determinedly fight for national independence and prosperity, treasure national culture and all the fine heritages and traditions of the nation and endeavour to carry forward and develop them. The communists oppose all forms of national oppression and inequality and reject national nihilism.

We should further heighten the national pride and independent consciousness of the working people and make them fight more stubbornly for the complete unification and independence of the country and for the flourish of our nation. The working people should be educated to love the mountains and rivers of their motherland and their native places and make them more beautiful, hold dear their mother tongue and national culture and endeavour to develop them further still.

What is of weighty importance here is to educate the working people to take a correct attitude towards national cultural legacies and national traditions which have formed through history. We must neither slide into a nihilist deviation of negating and obliterating everything of the past, nor into a deviation of restoring the past things uncritically. These deviations lay big obstacles both to creating a new socialist culture and mode of life and to imbuing the working people with the ideas of socialist patriotism. Only when backward and reactionary things are weeded out of the national legacies and all that is progressive and popular adopted and improved critically, is it possible to build a new socialist culture and mode of life and develop them all the more. And only when the working people are well acquainted with the present and past of their nation and love the fine traditions and legacies of their nation, will they become more patriotic. We should give the working people a correct and adequate education in our long history and culture so that they may value all the splendid traditions and legacies of our nation, cherish its beautiful manners and customs and carry forward and devolop them to suit the new life of socialism of today.

The class interest of the working class is, in itself, internationalist, and the internationalist solidarity of the working class constitutes a guarantee for the triumph of the cause of communism. Hence, socialist patriotism rejects all shades of chauvinism including bourgeois nationalism and is closely interlinked with proletarian internationalism. Only one who is boundlessly faithful to the revolution of his country can remain loyal to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, and only a true internationalist can become a true patriot. The national and international duties of the working class are united with each other.

We must arm the entire working people more firmly with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, with the spirit of international solidarity among the revolutionary peoples. We should see that our Party members and working people persist in their efforts to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement, develop the relations of friendship and co-operation with fraternal parties and countries and strengthen solidarity with the international working class and the progressive people of the whole world.

We should educate the working people to fight for the victory of the revolution of their country and, at the same time, fight for the advancement of the world revolutionary movement and always resolutely support and encourage the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and the exploited peoples. And our Party members and working people should be educated not only to prize the successes and experience gained in the revolutionary struggle of their country but respect the exploits made by the peoples of other countries in their struggle and modestly learn from their fine experience. Thus we should see that our entire people, raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism under the leadership of our Party, unite with the peoples of fraternal countries, unite with the progressive peoples of all countries and struggle together for the victory of the common cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, supporting and encouraging each other and learning from each other.

We should also educate the working people in the spirit of loving the future and in revolutionary optimism.

Ours is a lofty cause of bringing happiness and prosperity not only to our generation but to the generations to come, it is a great cause of communism, the ideal of mankind. We should deeply convince the entire working people of the justness of their great cause and the weighty mission devolved upon their generation so that they may do all they can for a better life of the posterity, for the radiant future of communism.

It is particularly important to make the working people have faith in the victory of communism. Imperialism is an outdated force which has lived out its days and communism is a new force that represents the future of mankind. There may be immeasurable difficulties and obstacles and many vicissitudes ahead on the highway to communism, but no force can ever block the law-governed process of the development of history in which imperialism falls and communism triumphs. Though the imperialists are now stepping up aggressive manoeuvrings and raising anti-communist clamours, it is nothing but a deathbed tremour of the doomed, and though the international communist movement is now undergoing harsh trials, it is only temporary twists and turns on the way of its onward march. This cannot change the law of the development of history nor dampen the great idea of communism. On the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and historical facts, we must bring home to the working people the inevitability of the downfall of imperialism and the triumph of communism as well as the full truth of communism. We should thereby see to it that all our working people march forward boldly in the teeth of all difficulties and obstacles with a burning aspiration for the future of communism and with a firm conviction under any circumstances.

We will energetically conduct political and ideological work among the Party members and the working people and thereby arm them more firmly with the idea of Marxism-Leninism, the idea of communism and rally them still closer around the Central Committee of the Party. When we train the Party members into ardent communist revolutionaries, educate and remould the broad sections of working people in the revolutionary communist spirit and further cement the unity of the Party and the people, our revolutionary ranks will be invincible.

We will steadily expand and reinforce the revolutonary ranks in this way, and will thereby accelerate socialist construction in the northern part of the country and fortify our revolutionary base as firm as rock politically, economically and militarily.

III. On Situation in South Korea and Struggle of South Korean People

Comrades,

For the unification of our country and victory of the Korean revolution, it is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces and develop the revolutionary struggle in South Korea while actively promoting the revolution and construction in the North. Particularly, today when our revolutionary base has grown into an invincible force, the final victory of the Korean revolution on a nation-wide scale depends largely on the strengthening of the revolutionary forces in South Korea.

The South Korean revolution is going through trying ordeals in face of the enemy's counter-revolutionary offensive. But the revolutionary forces in South Korea are growing and general situation is developing to the disadvantage of counter-revolution and in favour of revolution. The main feature of the present situation in South Korea is that the U.S. imperialists and their stooges are further stepping up their schemes of aggression and war by dint of the vicious military fascist dictatorship and, owing to this, a new serious crisis is being created for the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism.

The basic objective of the colonial enslavement policy pursued by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea is to reduce it to its military base for aggression and to a military appendage of the United States. Since the first days of their landing in South Korea, the Amerian imperialists have all along pursued their wicked aim of turning South Korea into their colony and using it as a stepping-stone for aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia. To this very end, they are trying to maintain their colonial domination over South Korea by every possible means.

The U.S. imperialists have deployed tens of thousands of U.S. troops and forces of their satellites in South Korea and keep a huge puppet army more than 600,000 strong. They allocate for South Korea 40 per cent of the total amount of their "aid" to Asia, more than 80 per cent of which is set apart to cover the supply of military equipment and the upkeep of the puppet army and they have seized the real power of South Korea by their military occupation and "aid" and subordinated all manpower and material resources for their military purposes. These facts show beyond doubt that the U.S. imperialists attach their military strategic importance to South Korea and that their policy of colonial enslavement against South Korea entirely serves the U.S. policy of war.

In recent years the American imperialists, while stepping up war preparations in South Korea, have more intensively utilized South Korea as a military base for aggression and its military potentials in the execution of their war policy. This is because U.S. imperialism has directed the spearhead of aggression against Asia and is intensifying its manoeuvres to stamp out the revolutionary movement of the people rapidly growing in this area and invade the socialist countries.

Now, the numerical strength of the South Korean puppet army is being augmented and its military equipment further modernized according to the needs of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Weapons of mass destruction such as tactical nuclear weapons and guided missiles are being shipped into South Korea continually, military installations expanded everywhere and the "combat readiness" strengthened throughout the whole of South Korea.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are militarizing South Korean economy still more to meet the increased military requirements. Since the "military coup," the military expenditure in the budget of the puppet government of South Korea has more than doubled and the investments in a number of industrial spheres of military significance are increasing. Due to the militarization of economy being stepped up in the name of "modernization," in South Korea a part of industrial spheres are of late growing to satisfy the military needs; communications, roads, railways and harbour facilities are being expanded and the military and economic potentialities further increased.

Consequently, South Korea has become a huge army camp where large military forces are concentrated and everything is geared to serve the U.S. imperialists' war policy.

In order to make a more effective use of South Korea for Asian aggression, the U.S. imperialists plot to align the South Korean puppets militarily with Japanese and other reactionaries in Asia. It is for this purpose that the long-drawn "South Korea-Japan Talks" was brought to conclusion in a flurry and the criminal "South Korea-Japan Treaty" rigged up under U.S. manipulation. After the conclusion of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty," the Japanese militarist forces are infiltrating into South Korea more actively and, the intrigue of U.S. imperialism is becoming more and more conspicuous to rig up a new military alliance in Asia on the basis of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty."

These moves of the U.S. imperialists are aimed at unleashing another war in Korea with South Korea as an advanced post and with the Japanese militarist forces as a shock-brigade and easily mobilizing the South Korean military potentials to their aggressive war in Asia.

The U.S. imperialists have directly involved South Korea in their war of aggression in Vietnam and are using South Korea as the most important supplier of cannon fodder. On U.S. orders, the South Korean puppets have thrown their armed forces into the battlefields of South Vietnam before any other puppets and more than any other vassal states, thus faithfully serving U.S. imperialism in carrying out its aggressive warfare. Already tens of thousands of South Korean puppet troops were taken to the battlefields of South Vietnam only to become bullet shields of U.S. imperialism and instruments of imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The U.S. imperialists are clinging to a naked military fascist dictatorship to subject the South Korean people to their colonial domination and war policy. The military fascist dictatorship established in South Korea, as a product of the U.S. policies of colonial slavery and war, faithfully serves U.S. imperialism. It assumes a ferocious and barbarous nature without precedent and is a pattern of the malignant fascist rule of the imperialists over colonies.

The chief aim the U.S. imperialists and their hirelings seek in the fascistization policy is to wipe out all social and political elements that hinder their colonial rule and war policy. So, they have manufactured various evil fascist laws and expanded machine of suppression on a large scale and thus covered the whole land of South Korea with a military, police, intelligence and espionage network and placed the whole society under a reign of terror. The brunt of their fascist tyranny is being directed to stamping out all democratic freedom and rights of the people and quelling the patriotic democratic forces. All the progressive political parties, public organizations and the press are made the target of repression, and numerous revolutionaries and patriots the victims of fascist rule

The U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique are resorting to every trick to justify their outrageous fascist rule of terror and, in particular, are using "anti-communism" as a major political and ideological medium. The "anti-communism" is used in South Korea as a "panacea" for the U.S. imperialists and their stooges in justifying all their criminal acts—from suppressing the people and removing the political opponents to kicking up war hysteria and fanning up a fratricidal war. It is under the signboard of "anti-communism" that war manoeuvres are staged against North Korea and it is under the same signboard of "anti-communism" that Japanese militarism is allowed to reinvade South Korea and many young South Koreans are dragged out to the shambles of South Vietnam.

With no such anti-communist clamour, however, can U.S. imperialism and its stooges cover up their criminal act nor deceive the masses. With no suppression and crafty artifice, can they curb the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people.

The policies of aggression and war pursued by the U.S. imperialists through military fascist dictatorship will only result in deepening the crisis of their colonial rule, instead of strengthening their foothold in South Korea. The establishment of the military fascist dictatorship itself means that U.S. imperialism and its henchmen have no choice but to rely on

(Continued on page 11)

(Continued from page 10)

the bayonet to maintain their domination, and that U.S. colonial rule over South Korea is shaking.

Under the heavy burden of military expenses caused by the war policy, and under fascist tyranny, the poverty and non-rights of the South Korean people have reached the extreme. Furthermore, owing to the Japanese manoeuvres for reaggression and the troops' dispatch to South Vietnam, the national dignity is totally trampled upon and social unrest mounts day by day.

The policies of war and fascistization which have brought unbearable calamities and sufferings are producing deeper discontent with U.S. imperialism and its stooges among the South Korean people and arousing strong aspirations for the right to live, democracy and for national unification. At present the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people is gaining in strength and they are being further awakened and steeled in the course of struggle. The broad patriotic democratic forces in South Korea are being united under the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist banner, while a handful of the anti-revolutionary forces is being isolated all the more.

The more the U.S. imperialists intensify the war policy and fascist oppression in South Korea, the greater discontent and opposition of the South Korean people they will encounter and the faster their colonial rule will be disintegrated.

Comrades, the current situation in South Korea requires a rapid expansion of the revolutionary forces and an acceleration of the democratic revolution for national liberation in every way.

The basic task of the South Korean revolution is to eliminate U.S. colonial domination, secure the democratic development of South Korean society and achieve the country's unification in unison with the socialist forces in the North.

The main target of the South Korean revolution is the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression. The U.S. imperialists have occupied South Korea by force of arms and turned it into their own colony and military base. They advertise South Korea as an "independent state" and describe themselves as "helper," but the real ruler who holds all power in South Korea is none but the U.S. aggressors. The so-called "Republic of Korea Government" of South Korea, as a puppet regime rigged up by the U.S. imperialists, is a camouflage for their colonial domination and is nothing but an instrument that faithfully executes the U.S. policy of aggression. The U.S. occupation and its colonial rule over South Korea is the root cause of all misfortunes and sufferings the South Korean people are undergoing and the main obstacle to unification of our country.

Without driving out the U.S. aggressive forces from South Korea and smashing the colonial rule, the South Korean people cannot free themselves from colonial slavery, nor can the unification of our country be attained. They must wage a stubborn struggle in opposition to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. aggressive troops and in order to get them out of South Korea and put an end to U.S. colonial rule.

It is a handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who support and follow the U.S. policy of colonial enslavement in South Korea. They force the South Korean people into colonial slavery in collusion with the U.S. aggressors and actively protect the aggressors in perpetrating all sorts of tyrannical and predatory acts. Under the aegis of the U.S. aggressors, they suppress and exploit the people, wield their power and live in luxury at the cost of the interests of the nation. While fighting the U.S. aggressors, the South Korean people must oppose and overthrow landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who serve U.S. imperialism as its cats'-paws and guides.

What is important in the struggle of the South Korean people for national independence and unification is to shatter the aggressive manoeuvrings of the forces of Japanese militarism. The Japanese militarists are the sworn enemy of our nation who forced us Korean people into colonial slavery and trampled underfoot and plundered our country of everything good and beautiful for nearly half a century in the past.

The Japanese militarists, dreaming of regaining their old position, have started worming their way into South Korea again with the backing of U.S. imperialism, and are appearing on the stage as a dangerous force of aggression.

All patriotic people in South Korea must wage a decisive struggle to abrogate the criminal "South Korea-Japan Treaty" and crush the reaggression against South Korea being attempted by forces of Japanese militarism. The struggle is, at the same time, a link in the chain of their struggle against U.S. colonial domination.

Only by overthrowing the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and their henchmen, can the South Korean people achieve freedom and liberation and only frustrating the Japanese militarist attempt for reaggression, can they extricate themselves from the danger of new calamities.

The most pressing task facing the South Korean people at present in their struggle against the foreign forces of aggression and their servitors is to baffle the war policy of U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys, oppose fascist suppression and achieve democratic freedom and rights.

The South Korean people must oppose and wreck the manoeuvrings of U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to unleash another war by reihforcing their armed forces, introducing mass destruction weapons and expanding military installations. They should frustrate the intrigue of the U.S. imperialists to draw South Korea in the "anti-communist" military alliance and, in particular, fight against the troops' dispatch to South Vietnam.

The struggle against the troops' dispatch to South Vietnam is a struggle to deliver South Korean youths and people from the scourge of the criminal war of aggression. It is a struggle to support the Vietnamese people fighting for freedom and liberation and oppose the U.S. policy of expanding war in Asia.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals and people of other strata in South Korea should unfold a massive struggle against the troops' dispatch to South Vietnam by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and, especially, the young people should be most active in this struggle so as not to be taken into the death pit of South Vietnam. The soldiers and officers of the "ROK army" must resolutely reject the dispatch of troops to South Vietnam, and those soldiers and officers already taken to Vietnam must fight determinedly for their immediate repatriation.

The U.S. imperialists will eventually meet with tenacious resistance of the "ROK army" officers and men and all the South Korean people for their having dragged the "ROK army" troops into their foul aggressive war, while the Pak Jung Hi clique who drive the young people of South Korea into a death pit in a foreign land on U.S. orders are bound to be brought to a stern trial by the people for their indelible crime.

Today the military fascist frenzy of U.S. imperialism and the Pak Jung Hi clique in South Korea has not noly caused untold hardships to the South Korean people but also provided grave obstacles to the development of the revolutionary movement in South Korea. No social progress can be expected, nor the revolutionary forces grow rapidly, nor the revolutionary movement advance successfully so long as political freedom and democratic rights of the people are trampled underfoot and fascist tyranny prevails.

The South Korean people should wage a strenuous struggle against fascist suppression and for freedom of speech, the press, association, assembly, demonstration, strike, and freedom of activities of all the political parties and social organizations. The workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals and the broad masses in South Korea must fight for the right to live and the improvement of livelihood, their most urgent demand at the present moment.

The struggle for democratic rights and freedom can emerge victorious only when it develops into a massive struggle embracing all the revolutionary forces and the forces opposed to military fascist dictatorship in South Korea. The South Korean people in all walks of life must carry on a massive joint struggle with united efforts in order to attain political freedom and rights. Thus they must check and smash the fascist suppression and tyranny by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen and overturn the present military fascist regime, the most heinous executor of colonial fascist rule and the most reactionary military group of intelligence agents and terrorists.

The people in South Korea should develop all the struggles they are waging now into a struggle to liquidate U.S. colonial rule, overthrow landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats and to take over power. Only when they establish a people's government representing various strata of the population, can they get out of their cursed plight of today and attain genuine freedom and liberation once and for all.

In order to vanquish the counter-revolution and win victory for the revolution a powerful revolutionary force must be prepared. Unless the revolutionary forces are adequately prepared, they cannot meet the great advent of revolution, nor can they cope with the day-to-day counter-revolutionary offensives of the enemy.

The basic line of the revolution in South Korea at the present stage is to preserve the revolutionary forces from the enemy's suppression, and at the same time, constantly accumulate and expand them for a decisive moment in the revolution.

The revolutionary forces cannot be prepared without struggle. They can grow in strength only through arduous struggles. It is in the flames of struggle that the leaders and the nuclei of revolution are produced, the masses of the people awakened and the revolutionary forces increase.

It is very important to lead correctly the mass movement and struggle on the bases of the principles of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in preparing the revolutionary forces and furthering the revolution.

If one wages an adventurous struggle without calculating correctly the balance of forces between itself and foe and without making a serious appraisal of the internal and external situation, it will cause a grave loss to the preservation, as well as accumulation, of the revolutionary forces from enemy suppression and will, in the long run, reverse the wheel of the revolution to a great extent. On the contrary, if one does not wage a positive struggle, just waiting for a favourable situation, because the revolution is arduous, neither can the revolutionary forces be accumulated nor can difficult phases be surmounted in the course of revolution. The revolutionary movement in South Korea must be developed properly combining diverse forms and ways of struggle—political and economic struggle's violent and non-violent struggles, legal and illegal struggles—to suit the subjective and objective situations obtaining, while guarding against the above right and "left" deviations.

The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries of South Korea must do their utmost for constant accumulation and growth of the revolutionary forces through a positive struggle against U.S. imperialism and its hirelings.

Most important of all in preparing revolutionary forces is to build a Marxist-Leninist party, the general staff of revolution, and form a powerful main force of revolution, uniting around the party the workers and peasants—the basic masses of society.

Experience in the South Korean revolutionary movement shows that neither the growth of the revolutionary forces nor successful progress of the revolutionary movement can be expected there unless there is the unified leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party deeply rooted among the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. Immediately after liberation, the struggle of the masses had upsurged greatly in South Korea. But it could not be led to victory because it lacked the leadership of a party possessing real revolutionary nuclei. After the war, too, favourable situations were created time and again, but the masses could not be led to a decisive struggle because there was no unified leadership of a revolutionary party.

It is an urgent demand of the development of the revolutionary movement in South Korea today to build a militant, flexible Marxist-Leninist party and enhance its leading role. The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in South Korea should consistently extend and strengthen the party ranks through practical struggles against the enemy and, in particular, reinforce the party organizations qualitatively with revolutionary nuclei who were steeled and tested in the struggle. The revolutionary party organizations in South Korea should become the militant detachments of staunch revolutionary fighters who possess the firm Marxist-Leninist world outlook and are firmly determined to fight to the last in the interests of the people and uphold revolutionary constancy in any adversity. The leading core of the party organizations must be formed with the competent revolutionaries who are capable of making an accurate judgement of the situation and skilfully leading the movement on the tactical and strategic principles of Marxism-Leninism in any complex circumstances. When they are formed with such staunch revolutionary fighters, the party organizations can guide the revolutionary movement with confidence, breaking through all difficulties and ordeals.

The Marxist-Leninist party must maintain kinship unity with the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the masses and take root deep in them in order to enhance it leading role and consolidate its own ranks. To extend and reinforce its mass foundation, the party should bring together the workers and peasants in the mass organizations and unite them around the party. The mass organizations must be affiliated with the broad masses, they must be democratic organizations that truly defend the class interests and be legal organizations in principle. When the workers and peasants are closely knitted and awakened under these organizations and united around the party, the South Korean revolution will come to possess a powerful main force.

To win victory for the revolution, it is necessary to mobilize all forces that are interested in the revolution, while building up its main force. Only by winning over all forces that can be won and uniting them into a single political force, will it be possible to fully isolate the counter-revolution, secure overwhelming superiority of the revolutionary forces over it and lead the revolution to victory. Today it is one of the most important tasks in strengthening the revolutionary forces and advancing the revolutionary struggle to form a broad anti-U.S. united front for national salvation that embraces the patriotic democratic forces of all circles and strata in South Korea.

Broad strata of the South Korean people—workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie—are suffering alike under U.S. colonial rule. This constitutes an objective condition for the formation of the anti-U.S. united front for national salvation with people in all walks of life who are opposed to U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

The revolutionary organizations and the people of South Korea must do all in their power to achieve a broad united front. The broadest possible sections of the people should be rallied to unfold a joint battle under the banner of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, especially, under the banner of struggle against the war policy and fascist suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, against troops' dispatch to South Vietnam and the "South Korea-Japan Treaty."

In forming and consolidating the united front, it is essential to hold fast to the line of concentrating upon a formation of a united front of rank-and-file and achieving on this basis a united front of upper strata and to gradually develop a lower form of joint struggle into a higher form and expand partial coalition to all-round coalition.

What is most important in the formation of a united front in South Korea is to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, the socio-political basis of the united front, and the same time, to realize a coalition of the workers, peasants, youth and students and intellectuals. It is of profound significance ont only for an immediate formation of a united front and an acceleration of the mass movement but for a future advancement of the South Korean revolution as well. Youth, students and intellectuals in colonial countries are mostly revolutionary because they suffer national oppression and humiliation. They are sensitive to the trend of the times and quick in

(Continued on page 12)

(Continued from page 11)

national awakening, and accordingly, play an important role in filling the gap between the workers and peasants and the revolutionary movement. Youth, students and intellectuals in South Korea have all these characteristic features and actually constitute an important force in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and its flunkeys. The South Korean workers and peasants should closely unite with youth, students and intellectuals and always strive together for carrying out the national liberation at the present moment and building a new society in the future. The youth, students and intellectuals of South Korea should reinforce their ranks still more firmly, go deep into the workers and peasants and share their fate with them, and fight to the end for the victory of the cause of revolution, not yielding to any suppression and persecution by the enemy.

At present, more than 600,000 young people of South Korea serve in the "ROK Army." The absolute majority of the rank and file and medium and low grade officers in the "ROK Army" come of the working people including the workers and peasants. The "ROK Army" troops, however, as an instrument of U.S. colonial rule, are forced to level their guns at their people and nation and are dragged into the aggressive war as colonial mercenaries. The "ROK Army" must rid itself of this shameful lot and become the army of people, the army of the nation.

The soldiers, medium and low grade officers of the "ROK Army" must not be deceived by U.S. imperialism and its servitors. Their enemy is not their fellow countrymen, parents and brothers, but the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their hirelings. They must not be used in slaughtering their brothers and sisters and oppressing the people, but should go hand in hand with their parents, brothers and sisters, with the people, in the struggle against foreign invaders, landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. The "ROK Army" soldiers and officers must turn their guns on the U.S. imperialists and their stooges.

The South Korean people must make every effort to prevent their sons from being forced to commit crimes of treachery to the people and the nation and enable them to free themselves from the disgraceful plight of mercenaries serving U.S. aggression and come over to the side of the people and the nation.

It is of great significance in weakening the counter-revolutionary forces and consolidating the revolutionary forces to make the "ROK Army" soldiers and officers to side with the people, the nation and the revolution. The revolutionary organizations and the revolutionaries of South Korea should do their work well with the "ROK Army" and win over the soldiers and middle and low grade officers to the side of the revolution.

The first and foremost task in isolating the counter-revolution and increasing the revolutionary forces is to awaken the masses politically and ideologically. Revolution starts with the awakening of the masses. Unless the masses of the people become conscious, it is impossible to unite them in an organized way or develop the mass movement.

There is an increasing necessity of giving precedence to political and ideological work in the light of the present South Korean situation where the enemy disseminates more and more reactionary ideas with each passing day. The South Korean revolutionary organizations must actively strive to heighten the class consciousness of the workers and peasants and the national consciousness of the masses of the people, enlighten and awaken them politically.

What is of paramount importance in awakening the masses of the South Korean people is to rid them of the illusion about the United States and the ideas of flunkeyism and root out the "anti-communist" ideas. The U.S.-worshipping flunkeyism and "anti-communist" ideas have a long historical root in South Korea. Especially after the surrender of Japanese imperialism they were implanted still deeper by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the pro-American, reactionary forces—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

Today, no few people in South Korea fail to see the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism, and have the wrong idea that they cannot live on without U.S. "aid." The trend to worship and rely on the United States is a great obstacle to the struggle for national liberation and independence.

To emancipate the South Korean people from under this influence of the reactionary ideas, it is necessary, first of all, to expose the U.S. imperialists' policy of neo-colonialism and lay bare their aggressive, predatory nature as well as the colonial character of South Korean society. It is essential to heighten the consciousness of national identity against flunkeyism to the United States, explain to the South Korean people the idea of independence and self-sustenance against the idea of relying on outside forces and widely propagate the patriotic national traditions of the Korean people against national nihilism. National pride and self-confidence should thus be elevated and the ideas of patriotism imbued into the people so that they may fight more valiantly against foreign aggressors.

All this propaganda for the masses must be conducted in close combination with that of the idea of Marxism-Leninism. Principles of Marxism-Leninism should be widely propagated among the masses so as to give them a correct understanding of socialism and communism and help the workers, peasants and the broad masses cast away the influence of the "anti-communist" ideas.

In conducting propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, attention must be directed to affording the masses of the South Korean workers and peasants an accurate idea of the essence and superiority of the social system of North Korea. Only when the people in South Korea have a correct understanding of the social system in the North, will they cast off prejudices against socialism and communism and accept Marxism-Leninism and come out actively in the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary movement will progress rapidly in South Korea when the national and class consciousness of the popular masses is enhanced and the broad masses rise in the struggle with revolutionary zeal and courage, thanks to the energetic political and ideological work of the revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries.

Any revolution, however great it may be, is started by a small number of pioneers at first, and then broad masses center around them and start acting gradually, multiplying their number, eventually leading the revolution to victory. Therefore, if only there are prepared leading nuclei, they can awaken and unite the masses and step up the revolutionary movement and, in the end, lead the people to victory in a decisive struggle to defeat the enemy when the situation develops in favour of them.

If there are revolutionary nuclei and revolutionary forces are strengthened, any counter-revolutionary forces can be defeated with the support of the people.

The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries of South Korea must steadily increase their ideological and organizational strength in order to hasten a decisive moment of the revolution and crush the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism, and prepare the revolutionary masses for all types of violent and non-violent struggles.

It is true that the South Korean revolution can in no way be won easily and an arduous road still lies ahead. But no difficulty, no manoeuvre on the part of the enemy, can check the advance of the revolution in South Korea. Along with the lawful trend of the development of revolution, the revolutionary movement will continue to advance and develop in South Korea and the revolutionary ranks will be steadily expanded and reinforced in the course of the struggle.

Revolution has always been victorious when the masses were determined to make it and rose as one in a heroic struggle. Especially the South Korean people are not alone in their revolutionary struggle. They have a powerful revolutionary base in North Korea. Our Party and the whole people in the North will do all they can to support the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people and will join hands with them in resolutely fighting for the complete liberation of our country and for national unification.

When the South Korean revolution emerges victorious, the cause of unification of our country will be successfully achieved by the united efforts of the socialist forces in North Korea and the patriotic, democratic forces in South Korea.

Unification of the fatherland is the supreme national task of our people and an urgent question which brooks no further delay. There may be various ways and means of achieving national unification. But, whatever its concrete ways and means may be, the country must, in all circumstances, be unified independently by the Korean people themselves, and it cannot be otherwise. Korea's unification is an internal affair of the Korean nation; the United Nations or any other outside forces are not entitled to meddle in it. The Korean people can achieve unification only by relying on their own efforts; neither the United Nations nor any outside forces can bring us a unified country. To try to attain unification relaying on outside forces is an illusion. It will only perpetuate the split of the nation and bring about enslavement.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys demand "unification under U.N. supervision," doggedly hampering the independent unification of our country. Of late, the South Korean puppets are alleging that if unification is accomplished right now, South Korea will face the danger of being "communized" and so, it is necessary to "foster real ability" to "prevail over communism," and that the question of unification may be taken up in the "latter half of the 70's." This proves that they are, in actual fact, indifferent to the country's unification although they talk about it a lot. Still, to "prevail over communism" is a sheer sleep-talk of those who dream of plucking a star from the sky, and the clamours about the danger of "communization" only lay bare the true colours of those traitors to the nation and country who oppose unification and try to perpetuate territorial division and keep the South Korean people in U.S. imperialist slavery for ever.

It is self-evident that the question of unification of our nation can not be solved excluding the communists in Korea, now that they have become a solid guiding force in the northern half of the country and all the North Korean people have accepted the idea of communism and are building a happy, new life under its banner. What social system should be established in our country after unification is a question to be decided in conformity with the unanimous will of the entire Korean people. If the South Korean people want communism like the people in the North, surely a social system based on that idea will be established in our unified country.

Communism is the most progressive idea that illumines a bright future for mankind. The achievements attained by the North Korean people in socialist construction under the leadership of the communists clearly show what grandiose task can be undertaken in the interests of the people, for the national prosperity and progress of the country, when the communist idea is taken as a guide. The idea of communism today grips the minds of hundreds upon millions of people on all continents, inspiring them to a sacred struggle for freedom, liberation and the building of new society.

If unification is attained, we shall pool the wisdom and energy of the entire people in North and South Korea and develop the resources in both parts in a unified way to build new, prosperous Korea good to live in. Korea will, when united, become a big nation with the population of 40 millions, a wealthy and powerful nation where everyone leads a decent life.

All the people in North and South Korea, looking forward to the bright future, strive to expedite the cause of national unification. Just as U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are unable to obstruct revolution and construction in North Korea, so are they unable to bar the progress and victory of the revolutionary movement in South Korea or prevent the struggle of the Korean people for the country's unification.

Our 600,000 compatriots in Japan and all other Korean citizens abroad desire to see their fatherland united and endeavour to recover a unified fatherland.

No amount of repression and persecution by the Japanese authorities can curb the struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan for democratic, national rights and unification of the country. It will only add fuel to the indignation of the whole Korean people. We scathingly condemn the suppression and persecution of Korean citizens in Japan by the Japanese authorities and will, as always, give support and encouragement to the just struggle of our compatriots.

The day of unification is drawing nearer and nearer thanks to the sacred struggle waged by the Korean people in North and South Korea under the banner of anti-U.S. national salvation, and to the patriotic struggle of Korean citizens abroad. The U.S. imperialist aggressors, the inveterate enemy of our people, will eventually be kicked out of South Korea, and already, there are signs of their domination being overthrown.

The U.S. imperialists are now rejected and isolated everywhere they set their foot in the world. Encountered with the resistance of the revolutionary people in Asia and the rest of the world, they are sinking deeper and deeper into a predicament.

Imperialism appears to be strong but it is, in fact, a castle on sand and its collapse is inevitable, as was the case with the Hitlerites and Japanese imperialists in the past. At present, the U.S. imperialists boast of being the world's "mightiest," but they, too, are doomed to destruction.

The same fate awaits the Japanese militarists who are worming into South Korea with the backing of U.S. imperialism. The Japanese militarists are, through history, accustomed to getting "windfall" with the support of big powers. In the past they aligned with the U.S. and British imperialists and annexed Korea with their aegis, stretched claws of aggression to the Asian continent and made frenzied efforts to become the "leader" of Asia in league with fascist Germany and Italy. But they were worsted in the long run. Watching for a chance for another "windfall," the Japanese militarists now try to sneak into South Korea in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, and to realize their old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." This is a preposterous daydream.

Korea of today is not Korea of yesterday, and Asia of today is not Asia of yesterday. If the Japanese militarists, oblivious of past lessons, thrust themselves again into the road of aggression against Korea and Asia, they will perish in the flames they themselves enkindled.

No imperialist forces on earth can conquer the Korean people and the Asian peoples.

The imperialist aggressors will definitely be defeated and our people emerge victorious, and the liberation of the South Korean people and the cause of national unification will be accomplished without fail.

Comrades, the revolutionary cause of the Korean Workers' Party and the Korean people is a righteous one. The internal and external policies of our Party are correct policies of Marxism-Leninism applied to our actual conditions. Invincible are our revolutionary ranks firmly knitted around the Party, and they are being expanded and strengthened further still.

The more complicated the situation becomes and the more we are confronted with hard and tremendous tasks, the firmer we shall unite our ranks and the more valiantly we shall fight along the road we have chosen, with conviction in the justness of our cause and its final triumph.

Our Party and the entire people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninsm, will surely fulfil with credit the national and international duties by continuously waging a vigorous struggle, rallying still more closely around the Party Central Committee.

The People's Korea

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